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GEN<sup>L</sup> ANDREW JACKSON.

• Published by Hy. Vicary Baltimore.

J. S. PICKETT.  
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**SOME ACCOUNT**  
**OF**  
**GENERAL JACKSON,**

**DRAWN UP FROM**

**THE HON. MR. EATON'S**

**VERY CIRCUMSTANTIAL NARRATIVE,**

**AND OTHER WELL-ESTABLISHED INFORMATION RES-  
PECTING HIM.**

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**By a Gentleman of the Baltimore Bar.**

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*"He has done the States some service and they know it."*

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**BALTIMORE :**

**PUBLISHED BY HENRY VICARY,**

Pratt st. near Hanover Market.

—◆—  
1828.

Matchett, print.

**J. S. PICKETT.**  
**FRUIT FARM**



*DISTRICT OF MARYLAND, TO WIT:—*

[L. S.] BE IT REMEMBERED, that on this eighth day of February, in the fifty-second year of the Independence of the United States of America, HENRY VICARY of the said District, hath deposited in this office, the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as proprietor, in the words following, to wit:—

“Some Account of General Jackson, drawn up from the Hon. Mr. Eaton’s very circumstantial Narrative, and other well established information respecting him. By a Gentleman of the Baltimore Bar. “He has done the States some service and they know it.” ”

In conformity with the act of Congress, of the United States, entitled “An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned;” and also to the Act, entitled “An Act supplementary to the Act, entitled an Act, for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned, and extending the benefits thereof, to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints.

PHILIP MOORE,  
Clerk of the District of Maryland,



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## PROLEGOMENA.

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CONSIDERING that a new book, which professes to detail the eventful history of a person eminently distinguished and actively employed in high national affairs, cannot decently present itself to public attention without some preliminary exposition of the spirit wherein it was compiled; I may be permitted to say, that I have honestly endeavoured to set forth a just and fair account of the transactions which I relate; and, (however adventitiously extended may be its circulation through the interest arising from the crisis,) the work builds on its fidelity and literary merit alone, whatever pretensions it may have to a kind reception.

The Honourable Mr. Eaton, mentioned in the Title page, has enjoyed, a familiar intercourse with General Jackson for many years, and has long been commissioned to exert a senatorial voice in the councils of the nation. He must, herefore, be deemed a voucher that scorns to deceive, and cannot be himself misled. Mr. Eaton ascribes one third of his book to the pen of the late Major Reid, formerly the general's ac-

complished Aid-de-camp and most confidential friend. Their joint performance, constituting more than 400 octavo pages, unfolds to the historical eye, a great deal of interesting matter, with simplicity and grace.

THE AUTHOR.

4th February, 1828.

In a first impression, it is reasonable to expect some few misprints: but dependence is rested on the courtesy of the liberal reader.

# MEMOIRS, &c.

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## CHAPTER I.

### *The General's Descent—Birth and Education—his Appointment in the Service of his Country.*

THE parents of General Jackson took leave of their native land in the year 1765; and repairing to America, embarked for Charleston in South Carolina, where they arrived in safety with their two children, Hugh and Robert. Mr. Andrew Jackson, our hero's father, was a younger son of his family; a family which, for many generations, bore high respectability in the North of Ireland. The maternal grandfather of our General, sustained the signal blockade of Carrickfergus, which took place during the civil wars of Ireland; and is said to have distinguished himself upon that occasion by his intrepidity and

firmness, and to have been himself no less distinguished by his voluntary sufferings. In those days, Carrickfergus was the emporium of the North-West trade of Ireland, but its commerce has been for many years on the wane, and of late all business of importance in that quarter, has been transacted in the flourishing town of Belfast. It is still, however, the place of holding assizes for the county, and it returns one member to Parliament.

As soon as Mr. Jackson had respired from the fatigues of his passage, (navigation being in those times, extremely tedious and uncomfortable,) he cast his eyes around him to select a suitable location for an establishment, with the discreet solicitude of a man who had before him the prospect of a rising family. He finally resolved to settle in the country, and turn his attention to agricultural pur-



suits. With this view he purchased a tract of fertile soil in the Waxsaw settlement, about forty-five miles from Camden. Removing thither with Mrs. Jackson and his two infant children, he tended the cultivation of his farm with assiduity and success. In the endearing converse of his domestic society, however small, he enjoyed an ample relaxation from his toils, being a tender and affectionate husband and father. At this peaceful and pleasant retirement, on the fifteenth of March, 1767, Mrs. Jackson presented to her adopted country its future protector, for on that day our illustrious General first saw the light.

Of the beginning stages of his life, we have no accounts, which particularise the character of his infancy. All observation of the sort, however interesting now, has perished amid the gloom, which Divine Providence

was pleased to draw around his early childhood. Soon after the birth of Andrew, (for his father had made him his own namesake,) Mr. Jackson was visited with a sudden illness, which terminated in the dissolution of that worthy man.

This was a sad affliction, and it tried severely, Mrs. Jackson's firmness of mind. But Mrs. Jackson was a very rational, as well as a very tender woman. She was sensible that pressing duties had now devolved upon her, and that a mother's care had a rightful claim to intrude upon the disconsolations of her melancholy widowhood. The world she had to contend with, was full of selfishness, dissimulation and fraud : but she hoped by industry and prudence, to meet the difficulties of her situation—confiding in the father of all, who promises, that *He will establish the border of the widow.*



Hugh and Robert being intended to follow the plainer avocations of life, were prepared at a country school for the transaction of ordinary business. But Andrew, his mother having designed him for the pulpit, was placed under the tuition of Mr. Humphries, who taught young gentlemen at the Waxsaw Meeting House the Greek and Latin tongues, and whose attainments and gentlemanly principles, qualified him, in a superior degree, for the care and instruction of boys. With him he continued to prosecute his studies until he attained the age of fourteen. About this time, the conflict between exaction and resistance had confirmed itself into actual and sanguinary war, and the universal perturbation confounding all things and destroying each milder form of human employment, had, of course, interrupted the cultivation of the muses.—

Amongst others who burned with the martial ardour of the times, it is not astonishing that Hugh, the eldest brother, should glow with the sacred fire. This promising youth being present at the battle of Stono, over-exertion on the field, combining with the heat of the day, threw him into a fever that brought him, prematurely, to the grave.

Mrs. Jackson had an hereditary bias towards the assertion of civil rights, and the loss of her valiant boy in his opening bloom, diminished but little the interest she felt in the cause. She had besides her two surviving sons actively engaged in the service of their country. No object, therefore, lay nearer to her heart than to alleviate the distresses of the suffering patriots. Their clothing and comfort employed her sedulous attention. But while she administered to the health of others, she un-

happily neglected her own. The labour she underwent and intensely plied, was too fatiguing for her delicate frame. So that upon the death of Robert, this most excellent mother, was able to withstand her complicated misery but a few weeks. She expired in the vicinity of the British lines within a short distance of Charleston, leaving to her youngest son, a collection of moral precepts, which are still treasured up in his memory with fond remembrance, for, it is said, that our General never seems so cordially satisfied with an opinion, as when it happens to be after his mother's manner of thinking.

The circumstances of Robert's death are thus related by Major Reid: the Americans being unequal, as well from the inferiority of their numbers, as their discipline, to engage the British army in battle, had retired before it, into the interior of North

Carolina ; but when they learned that Lord Cornwallis had crossed the Yadkin, they returned in small detachments to their native state. On their arrival, they found Lord Rawdon in possession of Camden, and the whole country round in a state of desolation. The British commander being advised of the return of the settlers of Waxsaw, Major Coffin was immediately despatched thither, with a corps of light dragoons, a company of infantry, and a considerable number of tories, for their capture and destruction. Hearing of their approach, the settlers, without delay, appointed the Waxsaw Meeting House as a place of rendezvous, that they might the better collect their scattered strength, and concert some system of operations. About forty of them had accordingly assembled at this point, when the enemy approached, keeping the tories, who

were dressed in the common apparel of the country, in front, whereby this little band of patriots was completely deceived, having taken them for Captain Nisbet's company, in expectation of which they had been waiting. Eleven of them were taken prisoners; the rest with difficulty fled, scattering and betaking themselves to the woods for concealment. Robert and Andrew were among the number of those who effected their escape. A creek happened to be at hand, a secret bend of which they entered, and there lay in safety through the night. But the next day having called at a house to get some nourishment, they fastened their horses by the side of a small creek, and unluckily a party of tories passing that way, seized upon their horses together with their baggage, and approaching the house by stealth, for they suspected to find the riders



there, Robert and Andrew were surprised and taken. Being placed under guard, Andrew was ordered in a surly tone to clean the boots of a British officer which had become muddy from crossing the creek. Andrew in a spirited manner, spurning the imperious order, declared his right to expect the usage that should betide a prisoner of war. The officer enraged at his refusal, drew his sword and aimed a blow at his head, but throwing up his left hand he parried off the sword, receiving, however, a gash so severe in his hand, that it retains the scar till this very day. His brother being at the same time ordered to do a like menial office, and, like Andrew, scorning obedience, a wound was inflicted on his head. They were now carried to jail, where, put into separate confinement, they were treated with the utmost rigour. After the battle before

Camden, they were both released, through the interference of their mother, and Captain Walker of the militia. In a charge upon the rear of the British army, Captain Walker had succeeded in making thirteen prisoners, whom he exchanged for seven Americans, among whom were Andrew and his brother. But Robert's wound having remained undressed during the whole time he was kept in jail, contracted an inflammation, which baffled all subsequent attempts to stop the rapid progress of its mortality.

Apart altogether from our anticipated idea of his future eminence, the friendless orphan awakens our concern for his welfare, and strongly engages our interest in the future destinies of the lad.

Want of forethought, congenial to his years, suffered his patrimonial estate to decay from little to less, and

at last to dwindle into nothing. He had good sense enough, however, to resume his classical pursuits; and under Mr. M'Culloch, near Hill's Iron Works, he read for some time with diligence and success, and by his industrious application, so improved his mind, that conceiving himself sufficiently advanced in general knowledge to devote his attention to one of the learned professions, he entered the library of Mr. Spruce M'Cay, of Salisbury, in North Carolina.—Here, after a preparation of two years, he was admitted to practice, in the winter of 1786.

The western parts of the state of Tennessee being represented as opening a field for the prosperous exertions of the enterprising, he repaired thither; and fixed his residence at Nashville. In a short time he acquired such a standing at the bar that he was appointed Attorney General for the District.



In 1796, he was chosen a member of the convention that met to frame a constitution for the state. Before the expiration of the same year, he was elected to the House of Representatives in Congress, without solicitation. And to crown his preferment, the state was so impressed with a conviction of his great merit and value that he was raised, the year ensuing, to the Senate of the United States. He did not hold his seat long in the Senate, dissatisfied with the aristocratical politics of the day; but previous to his resignation, confirmed his republican character, by voting for a repeal of the alien and stamp acts,—bills which excited the indignation of all true republicans.

Upon the death of General Conway, the field officers of the military division of the state, without any previous intimation to him on the subject, chose our General to fill the vacancy.

He continued to hold the post until May, 1814, when the administration called upon his activity, and he was complimented with the rank of a Major General in the service of the United States.

Scarcely had he resigned his seat in the Senate, when he was nominated one of the judges of the Supreme Court of the state. But, finding the office not only arduous but ungrateful, he withdrew from the bench, and retired to the sweets of his rural occupations, and the enjoyment of his beloved society.

The war, however, which the United States was forced to declare against Great Britain, drew him forth again to public life. He was conscious of possessing great military talents, and his patriotism would not suffer him to sit with folded hands.

## CHAPTER II.

*Depredations and Murders committed by the Savages—the General's Conflicts with them—a full Account of the Battle of the Horse-shoe.*

OF all the Indian tribes, that of the Creeks had attained the greatest consequence in the sight of government, being the most formidable body, whether considered with respect to number, adroitness, intellectual sagacity, or boldness of resolution. The restless turn of mind, which is the general character of savage communities, gave just ground for alarm, and elicited the wary vigilance of the administration. Several isolated cases of individual murder had frequently occurred along the confines of the white settlements; but, notwithstanding, as the spirit of the Creeks appeared, on the whole,

to be animated with a friendly disposition towards the United States, no vigorous measures, on the part of the nation, were deemed necessary to be adopted. In the spring of 1812, Tecumseh became a leading man amongst the Shawnees. Tecumseh was liberally endowed by nature. He was bold, spirited, and implacable. No perils could daunt him, and even disappointment only roused his energies to fresh exertion. These mental qualities inhabited a form exact in its symmetry, constructed to endure fatigue, adapted to perform deeds of might, and yet pliant in every motion; and, withal, he possessed a commanding air and stately mien. Appropriately suited to the times which called him out, he trod the stage of action with the easy confidence of a performer who knows his part and has no rival to rebuke his genius. This extraordinary per-

son met an end homogeneous with his character. He expired on that favourite couch of the warrior—the field of battle;—sunk beneath the pressure of physical superiority and exhausted by the weariness of his own slaughter, he fell in the conflict of the Thames, wherein darkness overspread his eyes, after achieving feats of gallantry that might well reflect lustre on a better cause.

The northern tribes had recently formed a coalition to invade the New England states, with the aspiring view of extirpating, en masse, the inhabitants, or, at least, of driving them all out of the country. And as in large combinations of people united for the purpose of bringing round a momentous change, the general sentiment that pervades the whole, not unfrequently makes a peculiar impression on a few men of parts and boldness above the common, and



lifts their ambition higher than its native pitch, so when this project entertained by the tribes of the North began to break the shell, there arose amongst them an adventurous hierarch, who assumed to himself the appellation of prophet, and affected to be in the special confidence of the "Great Spirit." He delivered his predictions with awful pomp and gravity, according with the tremendous attributes of his holy office, and so artfully worked upon the gloomy fancies of his followers, and their superstitious hopes, that, by anticipation, they already saw the rivers dyed with the blood of the slain, and the useful labours of the oxen superceded by the hunting range of the forester. This wily prophet had for his brother the renowned Tecumseh.

The prophet enlarging his view from the mere devastation of the northern districts, embraced the idea

of subjugating the regions of the South, and thereby making one total extermination of the white people throughout the Union. In pursuance of this extensive plan of operation, Tecumseh was despatched to the Creeks, commissioned by the red brethren of the North to lay the prophet's overtures before them, and to enforce his application with the splendid assurance of that sacred personage, the celebrity of whose name could not fail to produce a most powerful effect upon them. But, whatever might have been the success of Tecumseh's embassy, upon this occasion, certain it is, that he quitted their territory after no long stay, and addressed his proposals to the Indian tribes that occupied the hunting lands which skirted the Alabama territory. The tribes, on the precincts of Alabama, had perpetrated some outrages, calculated to awaken the

most serious apprehensions of the settlers. But a terrible blow, which they struck soon after the dissemination of the prophet's doctrine, excited consternation in every bosom, and left the necessity of instantly resorting to effective measures no longer doubtful to the state executive of Tennessee. The barbarous slaughter of the garrison of Fort Mimms, and the brutal massacre of the helpless women and children who had made it their asylum, and flocked to it in great numbers,—penetrated by the terror which the report of divers atrocities had diffused through all the sequestered families that were settled in the proximity of the frontiers. Fort Mimms has its location in Tensaw, one of the Mississippi settlements ;—the fortress was erected there, most likely, on account of the eligibility of its position for the defence of the first, and, therefore,



distant settlers of that territory, and not because the place furnished any peculiar advantages of nature to authorize its being chosen for the scite of a fortified castle. Be that as it may, Fort Mimms was carried by assault after a fruitless resistance.—The besiegers numbered in their rank from six to seven hundred, sufficiently appointed for the purpose of executing their object. Their munitions of war they procured at Pensacola, and from the quantity with which they were furnished in that city, the circumstance could not have escaped the knowledge of the governor of Florida, a consideration that illustrates obscurely enough the sincerity in which the Spanish authorities made their professions of friendship towards the United States. The garrison mustered about one hundred and fifty men, and the women, children and invalids amounted to

the like number. Upon the entrance of the merciless victors, a scene of heart-rending carnage took place. Havoc was unsparingly dealt on all sides. The air resounded with the cries of the young, the shrieks of the women, and the frightful yells of the butchering savages. Out of three hundred Christian souls, barely seventeen, with much ado, escaped alive to report the melancholy tidings.

The inhabitants of Tennessee were struck with amazement and dismay. A convention of citizens was formally held in Nashville on the eighteenth of September, about four weeks after the perpetration of this calamitous affair. Groups, with tears in their eyes and horror on their countenances, surrounded the hearthstone of every house, and, whatever might be *spoken*, they could *think* of nothing else but Fort Mimms, and the rueful massacre. They could not but de-

plore the cruel torments and unprepared deaths of their fellow Christians, nor anticipate their own destinies without forebodings the most discouraging and afflictive. Meanwhile the members of the Legislature assembled together, and with all speed a bill was introduced, and as cordially passed, authorizing the governor to call out, for active service, three thousand five hundred men; and, lest provision, sufficiently ample, should not be made by the general government for the subsistence and equipment of such a force, the sum of three hundred thousand dollars was assigned for that object.

All eyes were now turned to General Jackson, as the most prominent military man in Tennessee, and who possessed, if any man did, the qualifications of an officer adequate to direct this critical and hazardous undertaking, and to bring it to a happy

issue. The General, besides, had gained the good will and esteem of the militia by his personal attention to their comforts and welfare in the expedition to Natchez, and the proofs he had given of his devotion to their interests and the vindication of their rights. The deepest concern was, therefore, evinced by people in every stage of life, when it was understood that he was seriously indisposed, and even confined to his chamber. Being, however, determined on the good of his country, and conceiving himself imperiously summoned to the field by the trying emergencies of the time, and so, to the great joy of his fellow citizens, declaring his resolution to assume the character of a soldier, and undergo the toils of war, notwithstanding his indisposition; he, in obedience to the governor's orders, directed two thousand of the militia, attached to his division, to

rendezvous at Fayetteville, duly prepared for actual service. Although many difficulties obstructed the militia, yet by using great exertions and bringing all their resources into activity, they contrived, however imperfectly, to execute the General's wishes, and rendezvous at Fayetteville, by the fourth of October, (the time of muster prescribed.) A few days elapsed before the General was physically strong enough to repair to the army; a delay, which, were it not for the painful necessity that produced it, there had been no cause to regret, since it afforded an opportunity to the General, during the interim, of laying before his troops a written, and, therefore, somewhat more solemn, exposition of those principles and sentiments which he expected would guide their conduct and actuate their perseverance, through the scenes they were approaching, of



difficulty and danger. Major Reid, his Aid-de-camp, arriving amongst them on the day fixed for the rendezvous, was bearer of an address, in which the General says :—

“ We are about to furnish these savages a lesson of admonition ; we are about to teach them, that our long forbearance has not proceeded from an insensibility to wrongs, or an inability to redress them. They stand in need of such warning. In proportion as we have borne with their insults, and submitted to their outrages, they have multiplied in number and increased in atrocity. But the measure of their offences is at length filled. The blood of our women and children, recently spilled at Fort Mimms, calls for our vengeance, it must not call in vain. Our borders must not, any longer, be disturbed by the war whoops of these savages, or the cries of their suffering victims.



The torch which has been lighted up must be made to blaze in the heart of their own country. It is time they should be made to feel the weight of a power, which, because it was merciful, they believed to be impotent. But how shall a war so long forborne, and so loudly called for by retributive justice, be waged? Shall we imitate the example of our enemies, in the disorder of their movements and the savageness of their dispositions. Is it worthy the character of American soldiers, who take up arms to redress the wrongs of an injured country, to assume no better model than that furnished them by barbarians? No! Fellow soldiers; great as are the grievances that have called us from our homes, we must not permit disorderly passions to tarnish the reputation we shall carry along with us;—we must and will be victorious; but we must conquer as men who

owe nothing to chance, and who, in the midst of victory, can still be mindful of what is due to humanity.

“We will commence the campaign by an inviolable attention to discipline and subordination. Without a strict observance of these, victory must ever be uncertain and ought hardly to be exulted in, even when gained. To what but to the entire disregard of order and subordination, are we to ascribe the disasters, which have attended our arms in the North, during the present war? How glorious will it be to remove the blots which have tarnished the fair character bequeathed us by the fathers of our revolution. The bosom of your General is full of hope. He knows the ardour which animates you, and already exults in the triumph which your strict observance of discipline and good order will render certain.”

After giving this tender admonition to the troops, the General proceeded to lay down what rules of conduct were to be followed; rightly considering that it was an easier task to hinder the introduction of irregularities into the camp, than to banish them from it after being introduced. The injunctions appeared rigid enough to the soldiers, who were but little habituated to military discipline, and had yet to learn, that there was any wisdom in the policy which proscribed the enjoyment of free conversation during parade.

But the most alarming and critical difficulty which fell to the General's troubled lot in dealing with the hearts of the men, sprung from the excessive scarcity, if not total dearth, of provisions, which threatened to visit them. To avert a calamity so fearful in itself, and no less fearfully portended, he exhibited spirit and un-

remitting industry, honourable alike to his character, both as a public servant and private citizen. His heart was set upon the consummation of the great object which lay before him to accomplish, and was at the same time deeply affected by the dreary prospect he had of enabling the men to undergo the fatigues which were about to await them. To every quarter he made application. The governors of the states were admonished of the dreadful consequences to the inhabitants, if the army was suffered to fall in pieces, by an insufficient supply of the first necessities of life. From all, he received assurances of relief, and, doubtless, they were made with equal sincerity, but still the actual assistance furnished by any was extremely feeble.

But, notwithstanding this defalcation, his resolution to proceed at once against the enemy no longer wa-

vered, upon learning that the hostile Indians of *nine* towns had embodied in great force, and were advancing to attack the friendly tribes of the Creeks and those of the Cherokees; a chief of the latter having dispatched two runners to the General's encampment to communicate this intelligence, which admitted of no alternative. Making, thereupon, a curtailed distribution of the supplies on hand, he instantly prepared to bear upon the savages before they should, by becoming the invaders, acquire that energetic ferocity with which the very thought of being in those circumstances, was calculated to inspire them. Accordingly he directed the runners of the Cherokee prince to acquaint their chief of his intention, and desired that all vigilance should be exerted to discover the projected movements of the enemy, their strength and positions, giving his as-



surance that he would be himself at the Coosa without delay.

Upon this interesting occasion he addressed his troops in these terms : “ You have, fellow soldiers, at length penetrated the country of your enemies. It is not to be believed that they will abandon the soil that embosoms the bones of their forefathers, without furnishing you an opportunity of signalizing your valour. Wise men do not expect ; brave men do not desire it. It was not to travel unmolested, through a barren wilderness, that you quitted your families and homes, and submitted to so many privations : it was to avenge the cruelties committed upon our defenceless frontiers, by the inhuman Creeks, instigated by their no less inhuman allies ; you shall not be disappointed. If the enemy flee before us, we will overtake and chastise him ; we will teach him how dreadful, when once



aroused is the resentment of freemen. But it is not by boasting that punishment is to be inflicted, or victory obtained. The same resolution that prompted us to take up arms, must inspire us in battle. Men thus animated, and thus resolved, barbarians can never conquer; and it is an enemy barbarous in the extreme, that we have now to face. Their reliance will be on the damage they can do you, whilst you are asleep and unprepared for action: their hopes shall fail them in the hour of experiment. Soldiers who know their duty, and are ambitious to perform it, are not to be taken by surprize. Our sentinels will never sleep, nor our soldiers be unprepared for action: yet, whilst it is enjoined upon the sentinels vigilantly to watch the approach of the foe, they are at the same time commanded not to fire at shadows. Imaginary danger must not deprive them of entire

self-possession. Our soldiers will lie with arms in their hands: and the moment an alarm is given, they will move to their respective positions, without noise and without confusion; they will be thus enabled to hear the orders of their officers, and to obey them with promptitude.

“Great reliance will be placed by the enemy on the consternation they may be able to spread through our ranks by the hideous yells with which they commence their battles; but brave men will laugh at such efforts to alarm them. It is not by bellowings and screams that the wounds of death are inflicted. You will teach these noisy assailants how weak are their weapons of warfare by opposing them with the bayonet; what Indian ever withstood its charge? What army, of any nation, ever withstood it long?

“Yes soldiers, the order for a charge will be the signal for victory. In that moment your enemy will be seen fleeing in every direction before you. But in the moment of action, coolness and deliberation must be regarded ; your fires made with precision and aim ; and when ordered to charge with the bayonet, you must proceed to the assault with a quick, and firm step ; without trepidation or alarm. Then shall you behold the completion of your hopes, in the discomfiture of your enemy. Your General, whose duty, as well as inclination, is to watch over your safety, will not, to gratify any wishes of his own, rush you unnecessarily into danger. He knows, however, that it is not in assailing an enemy that men are destroyed ; it is when in retreating, and in confusion. Aware of this, he will be prompted as much by a regard to your lives as your honour. He la-

ments that he has been compelled, even incidentally, to hint at a retreat when speaking to freemen, and to soldiers. Never, until you forget all that is due to yourselves and your country, will you have any practical understanding of that word. Shall an enemy, wholly unacquainted with military evolution, and who rely more for victory on their grim visages and hideous yells than upon their bravery or their weapons—shall such an enemy ever drive before them the well trained youths of our country, whose bosoms pant for glory, and a desire to avenge the wrongs they have received? Your General will not live to behold such a spectacle; rather would he rush into the thickest of the enemy, and submit himself to their scalping knives; but he has no fears of such a result. He knows the valour of the men he commands, and how certainly that valour, regulated as it

will be, will lead to victory. With his soldiers he will face all dangers, and with them participate in the glory of conquest."

The General still continuing his route towards the Coosa, learned, by a party which had been sent out to procure corn and cattle, that the Indians were collected together in a large body in the town called Tallushatchee, which lies on the south side of that river, at a distance of thirteen miles. Nine hundred men were detached under General Coffee, for the purpose of dispersing them, and these having, with some difficulty, crossed the Coosa, brought the war party to action; in which engagement the troops, after a most obstinate resistance, were completely successful.

The chief strength of the Creeks being understood to have its concentration close to the entrance of the



Tallapoosa river into the Coosa, the General directed his view to this quarter. Proposing to march against them, he fortified a suitable spot wherein to lodge the invalids and baggage. In the meantime he awaited the arrival of the troops of East Tennessee, but his stay in expectation of that reinforcement was interrupted by intelligence from Talladega, a fort lying about thirty miles further down the river, and into which a number of the friendly Indians had thrown themselves, in order to maintain with less insecurity their separation from those tribes who were hostile towards the United States. To have exposed these poor Indians therefore, to fall a certain prey to their sanguinary brethren, would have not only outraged the sentiments of humanity, but even cast a slur upon the government itself. And so the General marched onwards to their protection. Lest



the wily adversaries by taking a circuitous route should attempt the depot by surprize, he deemed it incumbent on him to commence the onset with despatch; and the Adjutant-General, in pursuance of orders, arranged the line, moving cautiously;—the infantry proceeding in three columns, the cavalry after the same manner, so that the whole could be quickly formed in battle array, on whatever side the enemy might appear. A company of artillerists and three others, two of which consisted of riflemen, were led about four hundred yards in front, under the command of Colonel Carroll, who was instructed to retire upon the main centre, as soon as he had drawn the Indians into action, that so they might be allured to follow him. About seven o'clock in the morning, the whole army, to the exception of Colonel Carroll's division, which formed

the advance, were drawn up in order of combat, at the distance of one mile from the enemy. Lieutenant Colonel Dyer was stationed behind the centre, with two hundred and fifty of the cavalry, as a corps de reserve. The remainder of the cavalry were disposed respectively on the right and left with their rear towards the foot, having directions when the fit juncture arrived, to wheel in confronting columns, a manœuvre calculated to bar an escape on the part of the enemy. The rest of the army had orders to move up by heads of companies; the right occupied by General Hall's brigade, the left by the brigade of General Roberts.

About eight o'clock the advance having interchanged a volley with the Indians, and brought them from their position, fell back, as they had been directed, upon the centre; while their savage foes pursued them with most

horrible cries. Their rush was first made against the militia of General Roberts, of which, two companies retreated. To fill up the chasm, Jackson was constrained on this emergence to resort to the corps de reserve, who unhorsing with alacrity and supplying the vacuum that had been occasioned, sustained the shock of the Indians with such boldness and resolution, that the militia feeling ashamed of their late pusillanimity, returned, and by their gallant efforts, retrieved their character. The conflict grew extremely animated before the Indians exhibited any symptoms of an inclination to quit the field. At last, however, when they met with a severe reception on the left from the mounted riflemen, they betook themselves precipitately to the right, where in consequence of some indiscretion shown by two of the commanding

officers, a number made their escape. But so hotly was the fighting maintained even after the retreat began, that the carnage extended three miles from the battle ground. The force of the enemy is computed at one thousand and eighty, and of this amount, a prodigious number were slain and wounded; nor did the troops of the Union gain a bloodless victory. It will be read with satisfaction, that the General was highly gratified with the conduct of those whom he had led to glory. Upon closing his report of this affair, he took occasion to say, " Too much praise cannot be bestowed on the advance, led by Colonel Carrol, for the spirited manner in which they commenced and sustained the attack; nor upon the reserve, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Dyer, for the gallantry with which they met and repulsed the enemy. In a word, the officers of every grade,

and as well the privates, realized the high expectations I had formed of them, and merit the gratitude of their country."

The friendly Indians who had been shut up in the fort of Talladega and over whom had hung the well grounded terror of death, being by means of this brilliant success, released from their mortal fears, gave the strongest indications of gratitude to their deliverers, which their scanty means enabled them to display. They freely shared their small stock of cattle, which the General purchasing with his own funds, distributed to his destitute troops.

Instead of pursuing the lead of his judgment to press forward, and make the most of the signal advantages which were thus obtained, the General found himself compelled to march back to his former depot, as well on account of the scarcity of



provisions with the troops in Talladega, as because he had left the depot but poorly supplied, in the hope at his departure, that immediate assistance would be brought by the speedy arrival of the East Tennessee brigade, a hope deplorably mistaken, although it was formed on the firmest assurances. Here he had the mortification to learn that the contractors likewise had failed to perform their engagements; so that the utmost want prevailed. A few biscuits and some lean beeves purchased of the Cherokees were all that remained. Even his own private stores had been used for the nourishment of the sick—which indeed the hospital surgeon had been directed so to make use of as the General was departing, in case the necessities of the sick required it.

In this wretched state of affairs, the General, in order to set a noble



example, refrained from any distinction of diet, and assumed an air of cheerfulness amidst the gloom which was diffused through an army, consisting of men, accustomed to live hot and full in the farmer's kitchen. It is said, that one morning as he was seated beneath the covering of a spreading tree, a soldier perceiving him intently occupied in eating, solicited to have a part of his relish; the General drew some acorns from his pocket, and presenting them to the man, told him, that he was welcome to partake of his fare, such as it was.

Conduct like this in the commanding officer, tended to stifle the first murmurs of complaint, but nothing short of the most consummate address and management, could allay the spirit of discontent, and repress the mutinous dispositions excited in the camp by these trying privations. At one

time the militia having moved to quit the service, and return to their homes, the volunteer troops were led forth to frustrate their purpose. Again, the volunteers were defeated in a similar project by the militia, drawn out to confront *them*, and perhaps indeed the firmness of the militia, is more to be attributed to the satisfaction they experienced in embracing the opportunity of retaliation which was now afforded, than to any radical dislike they harboured to the scheme of the volunteers. These hours of despondency were agreeably interrupted, by the arrival of stores: yet the effect produced was only partial and temporary, so when at times water is thrown upon a blazing fire, its flame for a little abates, but still the igneous principles remaining undestroyed, these presently renovate their force, and raise the flame higher than it was before.

It must indeed be owned, that the militia enrolled themselves under the presumption, that devoting their time and labour for the benefit of their country, they should be freed from the cares and solitudes of providing for the sustenance of life. Nevertheless, they had embarked in the service of their own inheritance. And surely it behoved them to endure much for the sake of the cause ; to struggle with many difficulties, undergo many hardships, be resigned amidst affliction and patient in distress.

The governor of Tennessee found so many obstacles in the way of furnishing an effective body for the prosecution of the campaign, that he recommended the enterprize to be for the present laid aside, and that no movement should be made until advice was obtained from the general government. In reply to his

views upon the subject, General Jackson remarked:—"Had your wish that I should discharge a part of my force, and retire with the residue into the settlements, assumed the form of a positive order, it might have furnished me some apology for pursuing such a course; but by no means a full justification. As you would have no power to give such an order, I could not be inculpable in obeying with my eyes open to the fatal consequences that would attend it. But a bare recommendation, founded, as I am satisfied it must be, on the artful suggestions of those fire-side patriots, who seek in a failure of the expedition, an excuse for their own supineness; and upon the misrepresentations of the discontented from the army, who wish it to be believed, that the difficulties which overcame their patriotism, are wholly insurmountable; would afford

me but a feeble shield against the reproaches of my country or my conscience. Believe me, my respected friend, the remarks I make, proceed from the purest personal regard. If you would preserve your reputation, or that of the state over which you preside, you must take a straight forward determined course; regardless of the applause or censure of the populace, and of the forebodings of that dastardly and designing crew, who at a time like this, may be expected to clamour continually in your ears. The very wretches, who now beset you with evil counsel, will be the first, should the measures which they recommend eventuate in disaster, to call down imprecations on your head, and load you with reproaches. Your country is in danger:—apply its resources to its defence! Can any course be



more plain ? Do you, my friend, at such a moment as the present, sit with your arms folded, and your heart at ease, waiting a solution of your doubts, and a definition of your powers ? Do you wait for special instructions from the secretary at war, which it is impossible for you to receive in time for the danger that threatens ? How did the venerable Shelby act, under similar circumstances ; or rather under circumstances by no means so critical ? Did he wait for orders to do what every man of sense knew—what every patriot felt, to be right ? He did not ; and yet how highly and justly did the government extol his manly and energetic conduct ! And how dear has his name become to every friend of his country !

“ You say that an order to bring the necessary quota of men into the field has been given, and that of



course your power ceases; and although you are made sensible that the order has been wholly neglected, you can take no measure to remedy the omission. Widely different indeed is my opinion. I consider it your imperious duty, when the men called for by your authority, founded upon that of the government, are known not to be in the field, to see that they be brought there; and to take immediate measures with the officer, who, charged with the execution of your order, omits or neglects to do it. As the executive of the state, it is your duty to see that the full quota of troops be constantly kept in the field, for the time they have been required. You are responsible to the government; your officer to you. Of what avail is it to give an order, if it be never executed, and may be disobeyed with impunity? Is it by empty mandates that we

can hope to conquer our enemies, and save our defenceless frontiers from butchery and devastation? Believe me my valued friend, there are times when it is highly criminal to shrink from responsibility, or scruple about the exercise of our powers. There are times when we must disregard punctilious etiquette, and think only of saving our country. What is really our present situation? The enemy we have been sent to subdue, may be said if we stop at this, to be only exasperated. The commander in chief, General Pinkney, who supposes me at this time prepared for renewed operations, has ordered me to advance, and form a junction with the Georgia army; and upon the expectation that I will do so, are all his arrangements formed for the prosecution of the campaign. Will it do to defeat his plans, and jeopardize the safety of the Georgia army? The

general government too, believe, and have a right to believe, that we have now not less than five thousand men in the heart of the enemy's country, and on this opinion are all their calculations bottomed ; and must they all be frustrated, and I become the instrument by which it is done ? God forbid !

“ You advise me to discharge or dismiss from service, until the will of the President can be known, such portion of the militia as have rendered three months' service. This advice astonishes me, even more than the former. I have no such discretionary power ; and if I had, it would be impolitic and ruinous to exercise it. I believed the militia who were not specially received for a shorter period, were engaged for six months, unless the objects of the expedition should be sooner attained ; and in

this opinion I was greatly strengthened by your letter of the 15th, in which you say, when answering my inquiry upon this subject, 'the militia are detached for six months' service,'—nor did I know or suppose, you had a different opinion, until the arrival of your last letter. This opinion must I suppose agreeably to your request be made known to General Roberts's brigade, and then the consequences are not difficult to be foreseen. Every man belonging to it will abandon me on the 4th of next month; nor shall I have the means of preventing it, but by the application of force, which under such circumstances, I shall not be at liberty to use. I have laboured hard to reconcile these men to a continuance in service until they could be honourably discharged, and had hoped I had, in a great measure succeeded; but your opinion operating with their

own prejudices, will give a sanction to their conduct, and render useless any farther attempts. They will go; but I can neither discharge nor dismiss them. Shall I be told that as they will go, it may as well be peaceably permitted; can that be any good reason why I should do an unauthorized act? Is it a good reason why I should violate the order of my superior officer, and evince a willingness to defeat the purposes of my government? And wherein does *the sound policy* of the measures which have been recommended consist? Or in what way are *they likely to promote the public good*? Is it sound policy to abandon a conquest thus far made, and deliver up to havoc, or add to the number of our enemies, those friendly Creeks and Cherokees, who relying on our protection, have espoused our cause, and aided us with their arms? Is it good



policy to turn loose upon our defenceless frontiers five thousand exasperated savages, to reek their hands once more in the blood of our citizens? What! Retrograde under such circumstances? I will perish first, no I will do my duty; I will hold the posts I have established until ordered to abandon them by the commanding general, or die in the struggle; long since have I determined not to seek the preservation of life at the sacrifice of reputation.

“But our frontiers it seems are to be defended, and by whom? By the very force that is now recommended to be dismissed: for I am first told to retire into the settlements and protect the frontiers; next to discharge my troops; and then that no measures can be taken for raising others. No my friend, if troops be given me, it is not by loitering on the frontiers that I will seek to give pro-



tection ;—they are to be defended, if defended at all, in a very different manner ;—by carrying the war into the heart of the enemy's country. All other hopes of defence are more visionary than dreams. What then is to be done ? I'll tell you what. You have only to act with the energy and decision the crisis demands, and all will be well. Send me a force engaged for six months, and I will answer for the result,—but withhold it and all is lost,—the reputation of the State, and yours, and mine, along with it."

The Governor was suitably impressed by the contents of this letter, and set about in good earnest to administer support to the General. He instantly ordered twenty-five hundred of the militia, for a tour of three months, to rendezvous at Fayetteville. The command was assigned to General Johnston, who was direte

ed to repair straightway to Fort Strother. General Cocke was besides instructed to raise the quota prescribed by General Jackson, and to have them forthcoming at an early day.

But all these splendid expectances eventuated at last in the acquisition of the volunteers raised under the auspices of Colonel Carroll ; consisting of eight hundred and fifty recruits. And the very history of these, shows the distressed posture of the General's affairs. For Colonel Carroll unable to obtain compliance with the conditions of enlistment which had been laid down ;—that is to say, unable to procure men for a service of six months or during the campaign, with all his endeavours only prevailed upon them to engage for the space of sixty days. What could the General do ?—Upon this levy he was to-

tally dependent, and of course, he had to accept it such as it was.

General Pinkney who held the chief command, having forwarded intimation by express, that General Floyd with his division, was pushing forwards to unite with Jackson ; and that a diversion in favour of General Floyd was expected to be made in the meantime ; it became necessary for our General to put his men in motion. Their number was small indeed, and consisted mostly of raw recruits. Upon reaching Talladega they were joined by two hundred friendly Indians, (Cherokees and Creeks,) who were however indifferently armed, and not a little daunted too, at witnessing our limited amount of force. But if Talladega contributed little to the *strength* of his *command*, it furnished Jackson with stronger motives for *advancing* : since *there* a letter was delivered him

from the officer stationed at Fort Armstrong, by whom he was advised that the warriors of fourteen or fifteen towns on the banks of the Talapoosa had collected with intent to demolish that depot, and that his immediate succour was required to save it. Jackson determined to make an attack immediately on this new horde of savages. There was a double advantage to be gained by their dispersion: in the first place Fort Armstrong would be preserved, and moreover the progress of General Floyd would be thereby essentially favoured.

He learned that the Indians were posted near the mouth of a creek called *Emuckfaw*, and thither he proceeded with the utmost expedition. Having gained the higher grounds in the vicinity of the creek, he sent out a reconnoitering party, and in the meantime took all requi-

site precautions against a sudden attack. The party returning announced that they had discovered a large encampment of Indians about three miles distant, and that they were engaged in whooping and the exercise of their martial dance. It being thence inferred that they were apprized of the arrival of the troops, preparations were made for the morning's hostilities. By break of day the alarm guns of the sentinels echoed amidst the terrific shrieks and wild ejaculations of the enemy, who commenced a hurried and furious assault upon the left flank, but were opposed with perfect firmness. General Coffee and Colonels Carroll and Sitler hastened to the point of conflict, animating by their example and encouraging the inexperienced troops. The left wing, which standing the brunt of action during a full half hour, was



considerably weakened, having been reinforced by the accession of a fresh company, General Coffee ordered a charge, and the Indians took to flight. They were chased about two miles, the friendly Indians uniting with the rest of the pursuers. Of the troops five were killed and twenty wounded. As long as the light continued to be insufficient for giving distinction to objects, great advantage arose from the position of the camp fires, which being outside the alignment, the assailants were quite discernible, while the troops were entirely concealed in darkness, or seen with confusion through the obscurity.

When pursuit was given over, General Coffee was dispatched with four hundred men accompanied by the friendly Indians, for the purpose of destroying the works which the enemy had thrown up; General Jackson instructing him at the same time



to use no delay in abortive trials, if his force proved inadequate to demolish them out of hand. General Coffee having examined the place, and found it too strong for his means, returned to the camp. The propriety of doing so was made presently manifest. Not more than half an hour's time had elapsed from his return, when the piquets posted on the right were assailed with a sharp fire attended by a frightful yelling. General Coffee, having asked and obtained permission, put himself at the head of a detachment and moved briskly forward to turn the left flank of the aggressors. It was very fortunate that there was no considerable force to be opposed on this occasion, for the detachment happened to be drawn from different companies, and so, having no common ligament, they had the meanness to drop off one by one, unperceived through the rapid-

ity of the movement; and at last General Coffee had with him but fifty left of the whole. He found the Indians posted along a piny ridge thick set with underwood, from which, lest they should make use of it for a concealment, he thought right to dislodge them, and in this attempt he succeeded; but not without loss, being himself wounded and his aide-camp shot dead together with three of his men. The savages ultimately made their escape to a creek covered over with reeds wherein they screened themselves from the view of their pursuers.

The enemy having made this attack on the right by way of feint, expecting their design to have carried, now rushed out from their covert, and with their main body, assailed the left line. General Jackson, apprehensive of their having this aim, had given order that the left line

should continue firm in its position, and when the first gun was heard in that direction, he repaired to the line in person and strengthened it with additional force. The first onset of the Indians, which was violent and impetuous, encountered an opposition firm, unyielding and manly. Hereupon the Indians resorted to brisk and irregular firing from behind logs, trees, shrubbery, and other protection; and after discharging their pieces, they would couch down or lie prostrate; and in such postures reloading, would rise again, and again in the same manner repeat their fire. After they had been for some time suffered thus to play upon the troops, a charge was ordered to be made upon them, which, formed by the whole line, threw them into utter confusion, and they hurried precipitately off. Vast numbers were over-

taken and cut down in the pursuit; but their loss has not been exactly ascertained.

Although the Indians were defeated in the fight of Emuckfaw, their plans were formed with much sagacity. They contemplated a simultaneous attack on three different quarters. But one of the tribes, the Chealegrans, instead of performing the part assigned it, passed by stealth the point proposed, rejoicing in having had the good fortune to escape into the villages without molestation. The result *might* otherwise have been seriously different.

The general was induced to return again to Fort Strother; the provisions in the camp being very scanty, and the region itself quite unproductive. Having by the success of this action relieved Fort Armstrong and considerably diminished the force which might be brought against

General Floyd; he ordered suitable conveyances to be prepared for the wounded, and had arrangements made for commencing the return march by 10 o'clock the next morning. After marching until dark, he encamped the army close to Enotichopco, a creek that lay on the route to the ford over which he had previously crossed. There was good reason to expect that the Indians meditated an ambuscade at this ford. The place was well fitted for such a purpose, as it furnished them with the advantage of concealment, two adjoining hills being overgrown with shrubbery and brown sedge, while the deep ravine which lay between, rendered pursuit almost impracticable. The general therefore sent pioneers to explore a less inconvenient passage, and one being found about six hundred yards distant, he set out thither, taking care to place the



troops in a posture of defence. A declivity of open woodland led to it, and there was no interruption to the view, except at its margin which was thinly covered with reeds. The front and a portion of the columns had already past, the wounded had been transported in safety, and the artillery were about to enter the creek, when the report of an alarm gun was heard on the rear. It appears that the Indians finding their expectation deceived with respect to the direction of march, had relinquished the ambuscade which they had lately formed, and made an attack on Captain Russell's company which proceeded hindmost. The company, being in number far inferior to its assailants, gradually retired to the rear guard; who according to the orders already given them to that effect, facing round, became the advance, and the right and left co-

columns at the same time wheeled in such a manner as to enclose the enemy. The general was in the act of crossing the ford when the yells and fire reached his ears. He forthwith directed his aid-de-camp to form a line for the safeguard of the wounded, and proceeded himself to turn the right column; but here he had the mortification to find both the right and left columns disgracefully put to flight, and choking up that part of the stream by which the main body of his army had to be re-crossed. Presently the centre column taking example from the other two, plunged into the creek; and not more than twenty of them remained to sustain the charge of the enemy. The company of artillery, commanded by Lieutenant Armstrong, promptly dragged up their piece of ordnance to a summit whence they could use it more effectually. Here a despe-

rate struggle took place; the Indians making a furious essay to gain possession of the gun, whilst the company forming with their muskets, made a resolute stand in its defence. The rammer and pricker happened to get so fast to the carriage, that they could not be disengaged, whereupon two of the men contrived to thrust home the cartridges with a musket, and by a dexterous application of a ramrod made them ready for the match. Lieutenant Armstrong fell by the side of his piece, exclaiming as he lay; "Some of you must perish; but do not lose the gun." For several minutes this gallant band which consisted of youths of the most respectable families in Tennessee, maintained with veteran steadiness the violent assaults of a quintuple number. Jackson having used his utmost exertions to relieve them, succeeded at length in sending across

the creek small detachments to their assistance. Finally Captain Gordon at the head of his company of spies made a fierce attack upon the enemy's left flank; and now seeing a powerful force advancing against them, the Indians throwing aside their blankets and whatever else might retard them by incumbrance, hastily betook themselves to flight; and being pursued to a distance of two miles were many of them cut down, and the rest totally dispersed.

The general experienced much difficulty in bringing his troops to order after the confusion into which the first charge of the Indians had thrown them. Besides the active endeavours of his staff, General Coffee likewise contributed most effectually to stop the panic. This gallant general, owing to the wound he had received in the affair near Emuckfaw, had to submit to the ne-

cessity of being carried in a litter throughout the preceding day; but anticipating an attack this morning, he ventured to take horse, and diffused an animated confidence by the pattern he set of coolness and intrepidity. The hospital surgeon, Doctor Shelby, ranged himself amongst the combatants, and was conspicuous for his activity and zeal. Adjutant General Sitler, upon witnessing the stand made by the artillery company, to which he had been himself formerly attached, hastened over the creek, and participated with them in their sanguinary conflict. Captain Gordon in an especial manner by his spirited sally against the left flank of the enemy, proved instrumental in turning the fortunes of the day. But as to the general himself, all eyes were bent upon him and all ears attentive. He was the very life of the fray, and by the collectedness of his



behaviour constituted the rallying point for all.

Having finished this prosperous expedition, and conducted the men in safety back to Fort Strother, the general deemed it proper to discharge them, being aware of their anxiety to revisit their homes, and solicitous that discontent should not sully the character they had recently acquired for themselves by their meritorious behaviour. Advices from Tennessee announced that new levies were advancing rapidly, and that the enlistment would be of sufficient duration to bring to a close the Indian warfare. In order that the fresh troops might be introduced speedily to active service upon their arrival, he caused the volunteers to construct the boats requisite for conveying the provisions and camp equipage down the Coosa, and as soon

as an adequate number was completed, he directed them to be marched homewards, and there honourably discharged. He would fain have retained the artillery company, whose valour he had experienced, and who had given such signal proofs of their fidelity and courage, but considering the great sacrifice which this company had made in quitting their domestic comforts for the benefit of their country, the many hardships they had undergone with patience, the zeal for the common cause which they had so conspicuously manifested, he felt himself called upon to consult their private inclinations, and restore them to the bosom of their families. Previous to parting, he addressed them in the most affecting terms; he recounted the instances they had given of their fortitude, and spoke in the handsomest manner of their steady

adherence from the beginning of the campaign, and reflected with grateful emotions on the resignation with which they had borne those sufferings and privations which among others had produced mutiny and open revolt.

From the unequivocal and positive assurances which had been given, the general had reason to presume that no impediment would occur to obstruct the prosecution of the war, and under this impression he ordered the new raised troops to advance and form a junction at Fort Strother, which he made his headquarters. Accordingly Brigadier General Johnston with the second division having united his force with that under General Doherty from East Tennessee, the army became about five thousand strong.

Constituted of men unused to military service, this body could only be

kept in proper discipline, by the strictest attention and vigilance on the part of the officers who held authority over it. A private, named John Woods, who had been convicted of mutiny and sentenced to death by a court-martial, was delivered to the execution of the law, and atoned for his rebellious conduct by undergoing a capital punishment. That refractory disposition which had so long infested the camp, and even for a time interrupted the activity of the service, had reached a crisis which loudly called for an example of severity to restrain it. The present occasion offered an opportunity to give a palpable demonstration that although under their own roofs and in their private dwellings, the militia may scorn the dictation of any man, yet when led forth to repel the aggression of their country's enemies, they must conform to established

regulations, and deferring to authority, submit their conduct to the direction of such as possess a legitimate dominion over them;—that they must relinquish a portion of their independence for a season in order to enjoy it afterwards in undisturbed security. It was repugnant to the general's feelings to allow the sentence of the court to be carried into the fatal consummation, but a sense of public duty admonished him of its necessity, and he had learned by experience that an uninterrupted course of lenient measures was ill adapted to ensure tranquility and order. The sentence was therefore executed; and the false opinion that a member of the militia was by no misconduct liable to suffer death, being thereby dispelled, the soldiers were taught that they acted under an awful responsibility; and a stricter



observance of good discipline and order, unknown before, succeeded to capricious insubordination.

No obstacle was now presented to hinder an active prosecution of the campaign, and the general was proceeding to advance with the troops immediately, when he found his expectation of the necessary supplies once more disappointed. He had already remonstrated in vain ; it was to no purpose he had employed both menace and solicitation. The contractors were guided by no principles of honour or of justice—a mercenary set of men, whose private interest was their leading star, who were utterly destitute of public spirit, whose sordid bosoms cherished no sentiments of patriotism, and who solely intent on the accumulation of riches, had no regard for the prosperity of the commonwealth. The general foreseeing the great mischief

which might spring from this source, the discontent and defection of his troops, and having no longer confidence in characters who had already so frequently abused it, determined now to adopt more effectual measures, and obtain the supplies by his own exertion. In pursuance of this determination, he sent into the nearest settlements trusty persons with directions to collect provisions at whatever rate they might be able to purchase them. This was an appeal more powerful than any which he had as yet made to the victualling commissioners. Finding that they would thus become responsible for all the purchases which would so take place, they exerted themselves with unaccustomed energy, and their interest excited a zeal to which their consciences had been unfamiliar. All methods had been tried to urge them to the discharge of their duty,

but the plan of stimulating their activity which the general resorted to on the present occasion, proved the only one suited to the purpose. In a correspondence of his at this period, he observes;—"I have no doubt but a combination has been formed to defeat the objects of the campaign; but the contractor ought to have recollected, that he had disappointed and starved my army once; and now in return, it shall be amply provided for at his expense. At this point he was to have delivered the rations—and whatever they may cost, at this place, he will be required to *pay*: any price that will ensure their delivery, I have directed to be given." He had before offered strong objections to supplying the army by means of *contractors*, as he had by experience tested the inefficiency of that measure. The unnecessary prolongation of the campaign, and the dis-

contents and even revolt of his troops in the midst of success had resulted from *their* neglect and continual disappointments. If an army was obliged to halt in order to await the arrival of supplies, or as indeed was actually the case, had to surrender the most momentous advantages, and march back to the post from which it had set out, the nation might forfeit millions of dollars, and many lives might be lost, whilst all the redress that could be obtained was by commencing a law-suit against the contractor, and after a lapse of twelve or eighteen months, a jury would merely decide how far the covenant had been infringed into which he had entered.

These perplexities combined with others of a serious character, filled the general's mind with the most anxious inquietude. His just ex-

pectations were frustrated, and his fondest hopes were overcast.

The East Tennessee brigade, assigned to the command of General Doherty, having been ordered to stay behind until a suitable quantity of provisions were brought to headquarters, had shown strong indications of an unwilling disposition to go through the campaign, and were with much trouble kept from returning home. Their own aversion to the service is said to have been strengthened by a certain individual *whose duty* it was to encourage *them* to *theirs*—holding forth to them the illegality of the process under which they had been drafted, and arguing consequently that they were annexed to the service by no binding tie. Such reasoning addressed to minds that desired to be convinced could not fail to produce a baneful impression. On the very morning in which



General Doherty was to have marched to head quarters, hearing an irregular beating of the drum, and inquiring into the cause, he was informed that the object was to assemble together such as were inclined to return home; and notwithstanding he exerted his utmost endeavours to allay the ferment, one hundred and eighty abandoned his command, and forsook his banner. It was with astonishment he learned that intimation had been conveyed to the troops from General Cocke, that should they return, he would himself upon their reaching Knoxville, undertake to hold them harmless for their conduct. General Cocke had before visited General Doherty's station, and by scattering flagitious and vague discourses through the camp, stirred up violent dissatisfaction. He protested that he could not conscientiously

lead them forward on the expedition, since they were destined to be under the command of General Jackson, who was sure to subject them to every species of hardship and misery, and wantonly expose them to the most imminent perils. The subject of rations was not left untouched; he asserted that five days' absumption could exhaust the total stock, and that there was no prospect of its being replenished. As a seal to this dismal catalogue of vexations, he pointed to the General's headstrong and tyrannical temper, and broadly hinted that, once being placed under his authority, the regular force which was at his hand, would enable him to co-erce their continuance as long as he chose to keep them. Unpractised militia of virgin timidity, were of course affected by suggestions of this sort, proceeding from the lips of a superior

officer, who having himself exercised a command, sanctioned his information by the weight of his experience ; the veracity of whose statements therefore was the less to be questioned since an opportunity had been afforded him of ascertaining the facts. Brigadier Doherty finding himself thus awkwardly circumstanced with respect to his own Major-General, and not knowing what course to pursue, sent advice to General Jackson of the movement going forward among his troops. The same person who carried this intelligence was sent back with a peremptory command to Brigadier Doherty, by which he was ordered to arrest any officer of what rank soever, who might be discovered sowing dissension through his brigade, and to have him escorted to head-quarters. General Cocke, surmising, or having

perhaps been informed of, the message which his Brigadier had despatched to Fort Strother, prudently withdrew from the camp before the answer reached it, and so for the present escaped the penalty of his criminal practices.

The General, having at last, by his indefatigable efforts and unwearied perseverance procured such a supply of provisions as he was of opinion would answer the demands of his army, resolved to put his troops in motion, and lead them forward against the enemy; not only for the sake of accelerating the great object of the campaign, but that he might besides preserve the *order*, and foster the *spirit* of the men—inactivity being ruinous to both. The Brigadiers having been directed to dismiss from the ranks all such as were physically inefficient, or accoutred defectively, (that there might be no

useless members,) he commenced advancing. Seven days after the march was begun, he arrived, after crossing the Coosa, at the mouth of Cedar Creek, where he established the post, called Fort Williams, agreeably to a prior selection. Here he halted, and remained for three days to await the arrival of the provision barges which were descending the river.

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From Fort Williams, where he left a sufficient protection under General Johnston, he proceeded for the Tallapoosa, taking the route of Emuckfaw. As the position which it was ascertained the Indians had now chosen for their point of defence was by the natural advantages of the place, and the skill and assiduity bestowed on its improvement, one of uncommon strength, no doubt existed of their determination to



make here a desperate stand. It was formed by one of the curvatures of the Tallapoosa, and being of a peninsular shape was called in the Indian tongue Tohopeka, the term they use to denote a *Horse Shoe*, whence the name given to the celebrated fight about to be detailed. The General's design was to attack this position, and then returning to Fort Williams to lay in a sufficient stock of provisions for undertaking an expedition to the Hickory Ground, where he indulged the expectation that it would be in his power to bring the Creek war to a happy close.

The available force which he now had, fell somewhat short of three thousand men—for he was obliged to leave detachments behind him at the several posts, it being indispensable to safety that communication in the rear should be kept open and unobstructed. About 10 o'clock in

the morning after a march of three days, he arrived near the village of Tohopeka. The Indians apprized of his approach, had assembled for battle. Here the warriors of the adjacent towns, Oakfusky, Hillabee, Eufalce, and New Youcka, had come together, determined and ready to oppose his progress. A fitter spot for their purpose could not easily be found. The narrow isthmus, by which alone it could be approached, was fortified by heavy timber and trunks of trees, laid horizontally one over the other ; and while they could abide behind this breastwork in security, a double row of portholes formed along it, enabled them to take an unerring aim at their assailants.

Early in the day, the mounted infantry and friendly Indians were ordered out to gain the Southern side

of the river, and General Coffee, who had them in charge, was directed to make such offensive movements as might engage the enemy's attention, and draw it from the point where the attempt upon them was to be principally made. Instructions were at the same time particularly given to guard against the savages obtaining an opportunity of escape, by crossing over in their canoes, which were drawn up along the water side. The General arranged the rest of the army over-against the breastwork. He planted the cannon on a rising ground, about two hundred yards distant from it, in order to its demolition. And while the ordnance played upon it from above, the muskets and rifles were discharged as the Indians happened to appear behind it. The cannonade, though very hotly maintained for some minutes, had produced no ef-

fect of consequence, when signal being made by General Coffee that his force had safely gained the opposite bank of the river, and was in readiness for action, the order was made to "charge." Never, it has been said, were troops more eager to be led on than were both regulars and militia. They had been waiting with impatience for the order, and hailed it with acclamations. The spirit that animated them alike, was a sure augury of the success that was to follow. No distinction could be drawn between them;—either body exhibiting an undaunted resolution and liveliness of courage worthy the ranks of veteran conquerors. The thirty-ninth regiment headed by their commander, Colonel Williams, and the valiant Major Montgomery, and Colonel Bunch's regiment of militia, pushed on amidst a destructive fire, and presently reach-

ed the breastwork. The mastery of the portholes now became the great object of dispute, and was contested on either side, with obstinate and deadly eagerness ; insomuch that many of the enemy's bullets became welded between the bayonets and musket barrels of the soldiers. Major Montgomery boldly springing on the top of the breastwork, shouted to the men below to ascend and follow him ; but scarcely were the words uttered when he dropped, shot through the head. The troops however, intrepidly scaling, the Indians perceived their post no longer tenable, and flying hastily from their works, sought shelter among the brushwood and timber with which the ground was thickly scattered, and from their concealment, kept up a continual fire, until by a second charge they were again forced to withdraw. Now reduced to despair,



rejecting all thoughts of throwing themselves upon the clemency of the victors, and yet seeing no place of refuge near them whither to fly, they resolved to make a bold effort to escape, and pass in their canoes to the farther side of the water ; but here too they met with a bitter disappointment, for they saw the opposite bank lined with armed men prepared for their destruction. The surviving warriors in this emergency leaped down the cliffs and declivities, and secreted themselves among the trees that lay on the edge of the river. Some few of them had withdrawn to the western angle of their works, and under favour of the heaps of brush, assailed the troops who had entered their line and those who were advancing towards it—making their disappearance as soon as they had let off their pieces.

The General, convinced that a continuance of the fight must under such circumstances be attended with useless havoc and the total annihilation of the savages, humanely directed the interpreter to advance under cover of some trees which stretched in front, and in his name, assure them that if they surrendered, they should receive the treatment of prisoners of war. But when the interpreter went forward a sufficient space for audible delivery and acquainted them with the subject of his commission, they remained for a while silent, after listening attentively to his address throughout, and just as he was awaiting their answer, and expected their approbation of the overture, instead of authorizing him to report their acquiescence, they opened a fire upon the flag, and wounded the interpreter himself severely in the chest. This behaviour admits of a double

interpretation : either the savages did not expect to obtain mercy, and so were determined to spare no lives by whatever casualty subjected to their power, or the atrocious act simply resulted from the inherent treachery of their heart,—in both cases it was right to dislodge them, and the General issued his order to that effect. The artillery was first brought to bear upon them, the cumbrous weight however of the ordnance moved too sluggishly over places thick set with obstructions to make an impression of consequence ; and therefore, a charge was directed to be made, in which many brave men perished, but the enemy had to abandon the retreats, and thus the left angle of the works was finally cleared. Torches were now lighted and thrown down the precipices, and the brushwood and trees catching fire, forced the unhappy refugees to come

forth. Nevertheless they obstinately persisted in their opposition. Thus the destruction continued until night, when under cover of the darkness, a number contrived to make their hair-breadth escape. While the main army was thus employed at the Horse Shoe, General Coffee's detachment did not remain inactive on the opposite bank of the river, and there is no doubt but that the breastwork would not have been so easily carried had it not been for the skilful operations of that detachment. Let it be considered, that the village stood on the river's edge. and while the warriors were occupied at the other extremity of the peninsula in defending the entrance into it, a party of the friendly Indians and mounted infantry swimming across, brought off without observation several of the canoes, and in these a considerable number being

wafted over, got admission into the town and set it on fire. Whereupon many of the savages hastening towards the scene of conflagration, enfeebled the strength with which the assailants of the breastwork had to contend.

It had been always the custom of the Indians when they expected to have an engagement, cautiously to remove their women and children at a distance from danger; but contrary to this usage, their women and children were left in the hamlet of Tohopeka—an indubitable argument that they regarded this to be an impregnable position, and harboured the firmest expectation of being able to repel any force that might be brought against it. Their defeat therefore at the Horse Shoe, broke down the energies of their spirit, and crushed every hope of their bo-



som, nor ever afterwards did they attempt a serious resistance. Already had they tried the fortune of sudden attack, and what they could avail by unexpected sallies from concealment in the forest, and had exhausted all the wily methods of ambuscade. A train of miscarriages had recently attended their efforts. But here at the Horse Shoe, they rested their confidence. It was a post which nature had fashioned to their hand, and all their ingenuity was brought into requisition to confirm its advantages by art.

In this battle a greater number of warriors fell than the Creeks had lost in all their previous engagements. Besides the corpses which were thrown into the river, and those savages who were taken down in attempting to cross it, and of whom therefore no exact computation can be made, five hundred and fifty-se-

ven were found dead in the theatre of action, and among them three of their prophets. These prophets having their heads and shoulders wreathed with the party-coloured feathers of different birds, performed their devotions to the Sun in the hottest of the fray, and greatly animated their followers, chanting their uncouth odes, twisting their bodies into every attitude, and distorting their features with horrible grimace. So powerful was the influence which they exercised over the credulity of the warriors and perhaps over their own, that even at the instant of scaling their breastwork, no apprehension of danger was betrayed, but it seemed rather as if the onset of the troops only gave their Great Spirit an opportunity of making them a more intimate visitation. This their confidence however, abated not a little on the fall of Monohoe. Mono-

hoe had in a peculiar manner acquired their reverence, and was eminently distinguished amongst them for his powers of divination ; but in this fatal engagement while actually uttering his prophecies and impelling his hearers to the fight, a cannon ball smote him in the mouth, and brought his predictions to a close. The Indian tribes had entertained the belief, as their teachers had instructed them, that their hunting grounds would be again restored to their possession by means of a new people who were to come for that purpose from beyond the great waters. But the death of Monohoe staggered the faith of many, and not a few of them considered the strange manner of his end as a judgment upon him from above, inflicted expressly on account of his oracular impieties.

To persons unacquainted with the usages of Indian warfare, it may appear astonishing that so few men of arms yielded themselves prisoners, and that they preferred certain death to the chance of experiencing the victors' clemency. The fact is, that conscious of their own want of generosity towards the vanquished, they hardly ever think of finding that quality in others, and when they perceive themselves worsted, and their success without hope, they aim only to sell their lives as dearly as they may, unless by a lucky flight, they can eschew opportunely the fury of their enemies. Their obstinate perseverance and unwillingness to hear-ken to any terms, may likewise be in some measure accounted for by the knowledge of what had befallen the Hillabees, who being defeated by a detachment of General Cocke's di-

vision, cried out for quarter in vain, and surrendering at discretion, were assailed and put to the sword. Doubtless this occurrence would not have taken place had that detachment been aware that a liberal system had been adopted with respect to such conquered Indians as declared their submission; an ignorance of which policy must be ascribed to the absence of concert among the several divisions of the army; but the fact could not be undone, and it was looked upon by the Indians as a sample of what might be expected from the good faith of all commanders on other occasions, so that the red men placed their dependence thenceforwards upon their own dexterity and prowess alone. And thus we have seen them resisting with unavailing mischief after all reasonable hope had vanished, whether of success or escape, and even after the command-



ing General had made a solemn proposal to spare their lives.

The aggregate of the prisoners, then amounting in all to three hundred, consisted of women and children. Amongst the latter was an infant discovered at its mother's breast. The circumstances of the fight indeed were such as to baffle the most attentive caution to avoid a random havoc, and the mother of this infant was one of those unfortunate creatures who fell the victims of accidental destruction. When the General heard the story of the babe, he desired to have it brought before him, and endeavoured to prevail with some-one of the Indian women to take charge of its nurture. They however expressed a frank opinion that since the parents had fallen in battle, it were as well that it should be put to death, as raised without any protection. This ex-

position of their sentiments brought to the General's mind the forlorn condition of his own childhood, in which he was bereft of all his relatives, and thrown upon the world without a guide to direct his steps, without a friend to soothe his sorrows or afford him counsel and assistance. His sympathies were touched by the case of the helpless orphan, and he determined to become himself its guardian. He gave to the child the name Lincoier and adopted him into his own family, and has ever since treated his interesting protege with parental tenderness and care.

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The intention of his descent being now accomplished, the General made preparations to return to Fort Williams, according to the plan of operations which he had projected before his departure from it.

His first solicitude was to secure the bodies of the dead from suffering violation at the hands of the savages. He discovered that fifty-five, including friendly Indians, had surrendered their lives in compassing this glorious and important victory. Now as several of the Horse Shoe or Tohopeka Indians, were found habited in the very dress of the soldiers who had been killed and buried at Emuckfaw, it was clear that the bodies of these men had been raised stripped and scalped. Decency forbade that a practice so revolting to humanity should be suffered to continue. But there was a serious public reason besides, wherefore it should be prevented. It was well ascertained that the Creek nation was kept in darkness with respect to the losses which they had sustained. A display of scalps taken from their adversaries was to them a sufficient

evidence that victory crowned the efforts of their warriors, while a feigned expedition to some distant quarter easily accounted for the absence of such as did not return. Policy therefore combined with humane considerations for removing the dead beyond the reach of the savages. The bodies were with that intent sunk in the river.

Next to discharging these obsequies, he turned his attention to the care of the wounded. And after providing for their conveyance, he commenced his return to the fort, which was reached in safety and without molestation.

That the ardour of the troops might be kept alive, and that he might acquit himself of the acknowledgments which he conceived were due to their energetic and noble exertions in the recent combat of the Horse Shoe, the day following his

arrival, as they were drawn out on parade, he presented them with a handsome eulogy running in these terms.

“ You have entitled yourselves to the gratitude of your country and your General. The expedition from which you have just returned, has, by your good conduct, been rendered prosperous, beyond any example in the history of our warfare ; it has redeemed the character of your state, and of that description of troops of which the greater part of you are.

“ You have within a few days, opened your way to the Tallapoosa, and destroyed a confederacy of the enemy, ferocious by nature, and who had grown insolent from impunity. Relying on their numbers, the security of their situation, and the assurances of their prophets, they derided our approach, and already exulted in



anticipation of the victory they expected to obtain. But they were ignorant of the influence and effect of government on the human powers, nor knew what brave men, and civilized, could effect. By their yells, they hoped to frighten us, and with their wooden fortifications to oppose us. Stupid mortals! Their yells but designated their situation the more certainly; whilst their walls became a snare for their own destruction. So will it ever be, when presumption and ignorance contend against bravery and prudence.

“The fiends of the Tallapoosa will no longer murder our women and children, or disturb the quiet of our borders. Their midnight flambeaux will no more illumine their council house, or shine upon the victim of their infernal orgies. In their place a new generation will arise, who will know their duty better.

The weapons of warfare will be exchanged for the utensils of husbandry; and the wilderness which now withers in sterility, and mourns the desolation which overspreads her, will blossom as the rose, and become the nursery of the arts. But before this happy day can arrive, other chastisements remain to be inflicted. It is indeed lamentable, that the path to peace should lead through blood, and over the bodies of the slain; but it is a dispensation of Providence, and perhaps a wise one, to inflict partial evils, that ultimate good may be produced.

“Our enemies are not sufficiently humbled,—they do not sue for peace. A collection of them await our approach, and remain to be dispersed. Buried in ignorance, and seduced by the false pretences of their prophets, they have the weakness to believe

they will still be able to make a decided stand against us. They must be undeceived, and made to atone their obstinacy and their crimes, by still further suffering. Those hopes which have so long deluded them, must be driven from their last refuge. They must be made to know, that their prophets are impostors, and that our strength is mighty and will prevail. Then, and not till then, may we expect to make with them a peace that shall be permanent."

Imbued with patriotic sentiments thus conveyed to them by their illustrious leader, the troops manifested a zealous inclination to prosecute the war. And the General was encouraged to hasten his departure to the Hickory Ground, and carry into effect the plan he had contemplated, while the recent defeat of the Indians was still green in its impression, and before they gained time to reco-

ver from their consternation. Certain intelligence had been received that a considerable force was collected at Hoithlewalee, a town not far distant from the Hickory land.

But discharges, which had been liberally granted, united with sickness, to thin his force materially, and he was upon this account, anxious to join the Southern army, that with a combination of the two, he might be able to act upon a more extensive scale. It was understood that the North-Carolina troops, under the command of General Graham, (a revolutionary officer,) and the troops of Georgia under that of Colonel Milton had arrived at no great distance South of the Tallapoosa. General Pinckney had already acquainted him that he should have no inconvenience to meet from a scarcity of supplies whenever he formed a junction with those troops, as they were amply

provided. Being apprehensive in regard to the competency of his own means to answer the demands of his army, he was for this cause also desirous of joining the Southern division with the least possible delay.

Putting his troops in readiness with all expedition, he placed Fort Williams under the command of General Johnston, to whom he gave in charge the sick and wounded; and proceeded with the two-fold view, as well of attempting the establishment at Hoithlewalee, as of uniting to his own the Southern force. To accomplish the latter of these objects, it was necessary to communicate with Colonel Milton, and make him acquainted with his movements. But here there was a difficulty to be overcome which did not *previously* exist in the same degree, as now that the troops had farther penetrated the regions occupied by the hos-



tile parties. The friendly Indians feeling assured that a more numerous collection had assembled than hitherto, and that the country would be now more extensively scoured than ever for the purpose of observing whatever motions might affect the waging of the war, grew subject to an unusual dread in bearing despatches; an office which was alone to be confided to them, since they alone were qualified by acquaintance with the routes and situations of the places, to manage the business with requisite celerity and address. They feared that there would be now too much circumspection used for them to elude the notice of the adverse party; and it was not without good reason that they apprehended very ungentle usage in the event of being detected and seized. On the other hand, the General considered that if

the enemy could be induced to make trial of their strength at Hoithlewalee, and fortune declared strikingly against them, they would be disposed to hearken to any terms of accommodation rather than draw down obvious ruin, when they perceived that no resort was left to them, as would happen by preventing them from crossing the river and thence directing their steps towards Pensacola and the Escambia. Whereas if they could effect their escape towards those points, in the result of their dispersion here, they would at all events have time allowed them to respire from their overthrow, to reanimate their flagging courage, and rekindle their ardour ; or perhaps at some juncture propitious to their enterprize, might obtain advantages to justify their prolongation of the war. The only sure method by which to hinder an occurrence so much to be

deprecated was the adoption of corresponding movements on the part of the Southern troops; and with whose commanders therefore, it was necessary for the General to maintain an intercourse, since they and he could with certainty act by concert in no other way.

Trusty Indians, whose local knowledge qualified them for the performance of the task, being at length prevailed upon to undertake the mission, expresses were despatched to Colonel Milton advising him of the General's design; and as a precaution against the dangers of surprize, accident or miscarriage, several messengers were sent directed to go by different routes. The Colonel was certified with respect to the particular day of the General's departure, and that the march to Hoithlewahee should be so conducted as to terminate without fail the fourth day ensu-

ing, on which day he would be present with two thousand men supplied with four days' provisions. He impressed the absolute expediency of harmonizing their movements, and that the Georgia troops should either reach the same destination about the same time, or by making some favourable diversion in its vicinity, give immediate aid to the accomplishment of the object proposed. But the rain which had fallen in prodigious quantity, having swollen the rivers to exundation, and overflowed the country round, unexpected obstacles lay before them and prolonged the march two days beyond the computation. This accidental delay afforded the Indians time for withdrawing into other parts, and they availed themselves it seems, of the interval thus presented. For the small rivulet running in front of the town, then however, enlarged to

considerable magnitude, had become so difficult to ford, that the savages had an opportunity to cross in their canoes to the opposite bank in a different direction, and effect their clearance by the Southern quarter, while the Tennessee troops advanced from the North; which unfortunate event could not have occurred had a due co-operation been made by the troops of Georgia; but the Indians must have been compelled either to surrender their persons or resign the power of doing any further mischief, under a less uncertain warranty.

No little mortification was felt by the General at the fatal neglect of Colonel Milton. He had given the Colonel positive intimation that on a day certain, the enemy's position would be assailed, and even when the state of the weather combining with the obstructions of the way,



procrastinated the march, he had communicated the disappointment, and in either case, earnestly urged that the South bank of the Tallapoosa should be made secure; yet was the admonition slighted, and the unheeded Indians allowed to compass their departure. All that remained to be done under these circumstances,—the army from Tennessee was filed off towards the right, and the rear of the fugitives being overtaken, twenty-five of them were made prisoners. On the same day, Colonel Milton, having advanced five miles from his encampment at Fort Decatur, and within four miles of Hoithlewalee, signified his intention to attack the town on that day. It so happened however, that a detachment of the General's army, which had succeeded in passing the creek, was already in possession of the town, and had in part demolished it.

Notwithstanding that a junction with the Georgia troops could be of little use, in the light of auxiliars, now that the Indians had contrived to escape, there was still a consideration which made their proximity highly gratifying. The supply of provisions with which the troops had proceeded from Fort Williams was now almost consumed. But as constant assurances had been made, that upon uniting with the troops of the South, an ample abundance would be had, their uneasiness on this score was dispelled, and the approach of the Southern army was hailed with the most cheering anticipations. The General took the earliest occasion to make known the limited means of his camp, and earnestly besought the Colonel to succour their necessities. Colonel Milton replied to his request by stating that he had forwarded some relief for the friend-

ly Indians, and that on the morrow he would *lend* a supply of provisions for the other troops, but that he did not conceive himself bound to *furnish* any. The General being thoroughly convinced that the Colonel had the means of accommodating him if he were inclined, did not request any more, but dropping the language of entreaty, demanded assistance. After representing the need experienced in his camp, he directed five thousand rations to be sent forthwith to meet the exigencies of the present, and ordered *him* and the forces he commanded to join him the next day by 10 o'clock;—adding in plain words, “This order must be obeyed without hesitation.” The order *was* punctually obeyed, and the two armies were at length united. The provisions that had been deposited in Fort Decatur were brought down, and the Gen-

eral procured for his troops a plentiful subsistence to which the defalcation of contractors had made and continued them strangers from the beginning of the campaign until now. If then it be asked what did General Jackson effect by his categorical manner of transacting affairs with Colonel Milton ? The answer is ready, the instant compliance produced by the peremptory mandate led to a copious stock of good victuals, the system of his men was supported and their vigour sustained in time, against the fatigues of a most distressing warfare.

While General Jackson was marching towards Hoithlewalee, he had been met by a flag purporting to come from Fous-hatchee, the aged prince of the Hickory Ground tribes, praying that hostilities might cease, and expressing the most positive as-

surances that his own sentiments were entirely pacific. Information was returned upon that occasion to the king, that the only pledge of an amicable disposition which could be regarded as such, was the departure of all the clans connected with the war measures, to some point North of the United States' establishment at Fort Williams. And now, after the junction of the Tennessee and Georgia troops, no fewer than fourteen distinguished warriors of the nation were present at the camp, to renew the professions of Fous-hatchee, the king, to report him as being then actually on his journey to repair with his people to the station prescribed ; and commissioned to solicit for that monarch the honour of waiting upon the General and paying him his devoirs.

That tract of the country occupied by the Creeks which forms the sali-



ent angle at the confluence of the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers was known amongst them by the appellation of The Holy Ground; because they believed it a spot peculiarly consecrated to the Indian race, and that its sanctity had been at no time violated by the tread of a white person. It was, therefore, to be expected that religious enthusiasm would actuate the savages to bend their whole might in preserving undefiled from aggression this favoured place. Thither the General put the combined troops in readiness to march.

At the instant of commencing the march, a message was delivered from Colonel Milton, stating the inability of his brigade to move on, because that the night before some of the wagon horses had strayed, that persons had been despatched however in search of them, and that upon their coming in he should be ready

to proceed. The General declared that he thought a want of carriage horses a cause of interruption disproportioned to impede the progress of an army: twenty men he observed might do the business of a team. However, he directed a few of the dragoons to dismount, and with *their* horses supplying the deficiency for the wagons, ordered the troops to march. This incident, the mention of which can work no disparagement to the military qualifications of Colonel Milton, is merely given to exemplify the habitual resources of the General's invention upon every common emergency.

Upon his arrival at the Holy Ground, chiefs of tribes flocked every day to the camp, and made their acknowledgments, desiring to have peace and forgiveness vouchsafed to them, upon whatever conditions he might be pleased to dictate. The

General was uniformly assured by them all, that every malcontent of their community, had fled for a refuge in Pensacola, or along the coast of Florida. To these petitioners the answer already given was repeated, namely, a departure North of Fort Williams and East of the Coosa, and they were no doubt very well satisfied with the easiness of the terms.

By removing the savages of suspicious fidelity and doubtful character beyond the government post at Fort Williams, and East of the river Coosa, a total severance of intercourse with Florida was made; and moreover their position in the midst of the friendly Indians facilitated intelligence of all their measures, and lay open to immediate discovery whatever schemes of hostility they might

devise, or machinations of war they might happen to concert.

An experience of their duplicity rendered their present submissiveness in their humiliation, too precarious a proof, to be relied upon as demonstrative evidence, of a change of mind. The General well knew that their castigation for unprovoked cruelties and violence had been smartly inflicted, and that they could not on a sudden forget it, however speciously a remembrance of it might at the moment be dissembled. He had reason to distrust the cordial earnestness in which they courted favour and solicited friendship. And surely the perils he had passed and the effusion of blood he had witnessed in reducing them to a sense of their duty, or rather of their weakness, did not justify his hasty acceptance of their professions, without

any substantive guaranty, as a pledge of their amicable disposition.

To make trial of their good faith and as a slight criterion whereby to form an opinion of it, the General required of them to bring bound before him the celebrated Weatherford, of atrocious fame, the chieftain who headed the assailants of Fort Mimms, and performed a conspicuous part in the horrid tragedy acted there. Weatherford learning that General Jackson insisted to have him in custody, and sensible that there was no possibility of evading the execution of the order, boldly resolved to repair himself to the General's camp, and offer his person in voluntary surrender; as a course which admitted of a less certain visitation of condign punishment, than if, drawn forward in the guise of a culprit, he stood expectant of the penalty which natural law, and the



simple law of retaliation assuredly annexed to bloody deeds like his. Having passed undiscovered to the camp and obtained admission to the General's quarters, he advanced towards him with a steady mien and countenance undismayed; he said that his name was Weatherford, that it was he who commanded at Fort Mimms, and that desiring peace for himself and his people, he had come to ask it. The General astonished not a little at finding himself in such company, and under such circumstances, after expressing his surprise that Weatherford should entertain a hope to meet with the lenity extended to venial transgressors, concluded by telling him, "I had directed that you should be brought to me confined; and had you appeared in this way, I should have known how to have treated you." Weatherford replied, "I am in your power—do with

me as you please. I am a soldier. I have done the white people all the harm I could; I have fought them, and fought them bravely: if I had an army, I would yet fight, and contend to the last; but I have none; my people are all gone. I can now do no more than weep over the misfortunes of my nation." Weatherford in truth by his self delivery and his manner of performing that act, had thrown the General into some little embarrassment to determine the process that should be observed in treating him. The *belligerent* relation in which Weatherford stood towards the government of the United States, stripped his case in a great measure of its felonious bearings, and put it beyond the General's legitimate power to exercise over him *criminal* dominion. A middle course was judiciously adopted. He was given to understand that no absolute

injunction was imposed upon him to lay aside his arms and cultivate schemes of peace, but that he had it in his power to depart and begin again his operations of war ; nevertheless he was admonished that if, being now a prisoner, he was set at large, his subsequent capture would place him in a perilous situation : that if he chose to remain and behave inoffensively, he was at liberty to stay, and that he might expect the benefits of a full protection. With an air of perfect composure the sanguinary captive replied, that he owned he *did* covet peace for the sake of his nation, which had suffered much through the ravages of war ; that their women and children had become destitute of provisions, their cattle carried off and their corn neglected ; “ But,” continued he, “ I may be well addressed in such language now. There was a time when

I had a choice, and could have answered you : I have none now—even hope has ended, once I could animate my warriors to battle, but I cannot animate the dead. My warriors can no longer hear my voice : their bones are at Talladega, Talluschatchee, Emuckfaw, and Tohopeka. I have not surrendered myself thoughtlessly. Whilst there were chances of success, I never left my post, nor supplicated peace. But my people are gone, and I now ask it for my nation, and for myself. On the miseries and misfortunes brought upon my country, I look back with deepest sorrow, and wish to avert still greater calamities. If I had been left to contend with the Georgia army, I would have raised my corn on one bank of the river, and fought them on the other ; but your people have destroyed my nation. You are a brave man : I rely upon your gen-

erosity. You will exact no terms of a conquered people but such as they should accede to: whatever they may be, it would now be madness and folly to oppose. If they are opposed, you shall find me amongst the sternest enforcers of obedience. Those who would still hold out, can be influenced only by a mean spirit of revenge; and to this they must not, and shall not sacrifice the last remnant of their country. You have told our nation where we might go; and be safe. This is good talk and they ought to listen to it. They shall listen to it." Weatherford's frank discourse spoken in a bold and spirited manner left a favourable impression of his sincerity on the mind of the General, who a few days afterwards permitted him to go with a small detachment through the forest in search of his old adherents, that by persuading



them to a timely submission, the nation might be preserved from the desolating consequences of a useless resistance.

Proctor, the chief of the Owewoha clans, having solicited and obtained permission from the United States' agent to continue in the same position, had expressed his intention to disregard the General's order for removal, and remain in his original district. As Proctor was among the first whose application was answered, by a statement of the terms upon which security was to be had; this tampering conduct and double dealing of Proctor was justly deemed contumacious, and held to be an example of evil tendency. Wherefore the General conveyed intimation to the Owewoha chief, that he had his choice whether to take the advantage of the toleration act of the agent, or

to comply with *his* order, but that for his part he would consider it *his* duty to treat as enemies all that did not remove to the designated place. The chief made his election without a tedious demurrer, and set off with his warriors to reside North of Fort Williams and East of the Coosa.

General Pinckney, the commander in chief, arriving at the camp, gave his cordial approbation of the arrangement which General Jackson had sagaciously made with the vanquished Indians.

Chiefs from the various hostile villages were now coming every day in such numbers to proffer their humble duty, and acquiescence with whatever stipulations might be proposed, that General Pinckney was convinced a thorough pacification was virtually compassed. Besides the property which had been pillaged at Fort Mimms, the restoration of

which furnished in itself a striking evidence of their sincere intentions, was industriously brought forward by parcels and promptly given back. The persuasion that the savages, crushed by the signal defeats which had recently befallen them, were heartily tired of waging hostilities and truly anxious that the war should terminate, was further confirmed by the report of Colonel Gibson. That officer had been sent to make a survey along the Alabama river. He had descended the stream to a considerable distance, and demolished several war towns, but he learned no accounts of an embodied force being any where assembled. A post also was here garrisoned on the Hickory Ground, called in compliment of the General, Fort Jackson. By this castelline erection, a chain of fortifications was completed, stretching

to Tennessee from the Alabama river, and from the same river to Georgia.

From such an agreeable coincidence of peaceful circumstances, General Pinckney was satisfied that a longer detention of the troops in service had become unnecessary. He ordered the Tennessee force to be marched homewards and discharged; directing General Jackson to drop on the way an adequate number of men for the protection of the several posts. On the third day ensuing, they reached Fort Williams. The General reported to the commander in chief that his orders had been so far complied with, that he had detailed four hundred soldiers for the safety of Fort Williams, and that he would leave at the other points a force correspondent to their exposed situations. In his letter he took occasion to say, "I shall march the remainder of my troops to Ten-

nessee, where I shall discharge them : after which I shall no longer consider myself accountable for the manner in which the posts may be defended, or the line of communication kept open ;—happy that the time for which I offered my services to my government, and the duties which they assigned me to perform, will have terminated together.”

At his official separation from his companions in arms, he pronounced the high opinion he entertained of their meritorious and exemplary conduct, and the cordial attachment with which he felt himself drawn towards them : “ Within a few days,” said he, “ you have annihilated the power of a nation that for twenty years has been the disturber of your peace. Your vengeance has been satisfied. Wherever these infuriated allies of our arch enemy assembled for battle,



you pursued and dispersed them. The rapidity of your movements has corresponded with the valour by which you have been animated. The bravery you have displayed in the field of battle, and the uniform good conduct you have manifested in your encampment, and on your line of march, will long be cherished in the memory of your General, and will not be forgotten by the country which you have so materially benefited."

In the progress of his journey home, loud acclamations greeted his presence, and the people were everywhere emulous to express their respect for his talents, and to show their fervent gratitude for his patriotic labours in exerting those powerful abilities to redress the past wrongs of his fellow citizens, and to ensure their protection and safety against the time to come.

He now returned to enjoy the beloved society of Mrs. Jackson. She had been very unfortunate in a prior marriage with an unprincipled man, who finding her amiable disposition unsuited to his profligate taste, after behaving towards her with great rudeness, flung her away from him—taking care, however, by legalising the separation, to set his mind at ease on the score of expense. It was at the house of her mother, the General saw her. She was lovely and in distress, combining two attitudes of appearance—well asserted to carry a manly and sensitive bosom. Her charms touched his heart and he loved her, whilst her uncommon merit, sanctioned in the eye of his prudential friends, the strong predilection her beauty had moved in his own.

## CHAPTER III.

*The General negotiates a compact with the Indians—Requires from the Governor of Florida an explanation of his conduct—Colonel Nicholls arrives at Pensacola and puts forth an inflammatory Proclamation—The General drives the British from that city.*

THE Indians having been made sensible of their inability to cope with the United States in hostile operations, the juncture was favourable to impose upon them, during this conviction of their own weakness, some restrictive obligations that might in a formal way render their inoffensiveness less precarious; and the government judiciously took advantage of the occasion. That the treaty might possess the greater authority, the General, who was em-

ployed to conduct it, had instructions to model the terms in a military form, and impress the instrument with the character of a capitulation. The Creeks were required to indemnify the United States for the expense of prosecuting the war, by a cession of so much denoted territory as might be deemed an equivalent. They were enjoined to admit into their country no agents or traders except those who should be furnished with a license from the United States, and were also themselves to abstain from intercourse with any Spanish port, garrison, or town; and by way of further security, the government was to be recognized as having a right to open roads through the Indian grounds, and to establish military posts and houses of trade.

The Creeks had from time to time suffered the Cherokees to encroach upon their territory; and now that

the question of surrender was to be agitated, the latter attempted to draw from the Creeks an acknowledgment of title to their usurpations, with the view of defeating the claim of the United States. But the artful proposal was met by a loconism of specific slyness—the Creeks simply observing, that since the pretended boundaries were not in earnest the boundaries of the Cherokees, it surely was not for them (the Creeks) to give countenance to falsehood by establishing that lie.

The Big Warrior exerted his rough abilities to resist the demand of territorial cession, and after depicting in moving colours the wretchedness which would overtake his people if constrained to forego their usual manner of life, ventured to suggest, that although the United States might in justice exact indemnity for the expense attending the war, yet the re-



quisition was made before the time ; that the war had not been brought to a full termination ; that those who had fled might return again and commence the conflict anew. His efforts were strenuously supported by She-locta, who, having done the State considerable service, was not neglectful of embellishing the common cause by a display of his personal merits. The Indians seem to have presumed that by procrastinating the discussion, the council might dissolve without adopting any definitive measures ; whereby it would be in their power to evade compliance with the conditions which had been prescribed. But the General gave them to understand that he was not to be foiled—declaring to them explicitly, “ You know,” said he, “ that the portion of country which you desire to retain, is that through which the intruders and mischief-makers from the lakes

reached you, and urged your nation to those acts of violence that have involved your people in wretchedness, and your country in ruin. Through it leads the path Tecumseh trod, when he came to visit you : that path must be stopped. Until this be done, your nation cannot expect happiness, nor mine security. I have already told you the reasons for demanding it : they are such as ought not—cannot be departed from. This evening must determine whether or not you are disposed to become friendly. By rejecting the treaty you will show that you are the enemies of the United States—enemies even to yourselves.” The unfinished state of the war gives an additional motive for the cession, that the troops may thus be able to distinguish and know their friends. “When our armies,” continued he, “came here, the hostile party had even stripped you of

your country: we re-took it, and now offer to restore it; theirs we propose to retain. Those who are disposed to give effect to the treaty, will sign it. They will be within our territory; will be protected and fed; and no enemy of theirs, or ours, shall molest them. Those who are opposed to it shall have permission to retire to Pensacola. Here is the paper: take it, and show the President who are his friends. Consult, and this evening let me know who will assent to it, and who will not. I do not wish, nor will I attempt to force any of you; act as you think proper." Whereupon a conference being straightway held upon the subject, a resolution was passed conceding to the United States the indemnification and security required.

Great Britain turning a deaf ear to the remonstrances of this country,

and sustaining her claims by means of force against the peaceful assertion of American rights, the executive authority of the United States had resorted to a declaration of war, and at length the sword was produced to vindicate the cause of the plume. The asylum which the Indians had found in Florida became doubly dangerous now, that British agents could through that medium obtain facilities of communicating with those savages, and fanning into activity their ferocious inclinations.

Even while officially employed with the Creeks at Fort Jackson, the General's industrious care for the welfare of his country extended to another concernment in which its interests were no less seriously implicated. It appeared to his foreseeing judgment, that when the winter solstice approached, and the severity of the weather interrupted

the Canadian campaign, the British forces would be withdrawn to the South, and that they would vigorously attempt to make an impression there. His anticipation was judiciously formed, and the inference of such a result deduced from premises that admitted of little dispute. First of all, the dubious character of the allegiance that attached to the American government the affiliated citizens of Louisiana, encouraged the British to expect a civil, if not a friendly reception among them. Again; a numerous black population which overran the Southern country were disposed, to judge by their well known partialities, to abet, as far as lay in their power, a British invasion.

As he was proceeding to Fort Jackson, our General learned that an English force to the number of three hundred, had actually landed at the mouth of the Appalachicola, had



erected fortifications, and were inciting the savages to renew their hostilities against the United States. The General hastened to convey this information to the Secretary at War, and submitted to the consideration of government, as he had earnestly done before, the great expediency and advantage of being in possession of Pensacola ; he urged not only the fitness but the justice also, of putting the key of the lower country in our own pocket : “ If,” said he, “ the hostile Creeks have taken refuge in Florida, and are there fed, clothed, and protected ; if the British have landed a large force, munitions of war, and are fortifying and stirring up the savages ; will you only say to me, raise a few hundred militia, which can be quickly done, and with such regular force as can be conveniently collected, make a descent upon Pensacola and reduce it ?

If so, I promise you the war in the South shall have a speedy termination, and English influence be forever destroyed in this quarter." To this application, as well as to many others of the like tenour, he received no reply ; no instructions whatever from government upon the subject. But on the 17th of January, 1815, after the repulse of the British from New-Orleans, a letter from General Armstrong reached him through the Post office. The letter bore date at the city of Washington, the 18th of July, 1814 ; at which time General Armstrong was Secretary at War. Its contents were :—" The case you put is a very strong one : and if all the circumstances stated by you, unite, the conclusion is irresistible. It becomes our duty to carry our arms where we find our enemies. It is believed and I am so

directed by the President to say, that there is a disposition on the part of the Spanish government, not to break with the United States, nor to encourage any conduct on the part of her subordinate agents, having a tendency to such rupture. We must therefore in this case, be careful to ascertain facts, and even to distinguish what, on the part of the Spanish authorities, may be the effect of menace and compulsion, or of their choice and policy: the result of this inquiry must govern. If they admit, feed, arm, and co-operate with the British, and hostile Indians, we must strike on the broad principle of self-preservation:—under other and different circumstances, we must forbear.”

Had this letter arrived in due season, the General would undoubtedly have felt himself free to pursue the course which his own judgment pointed out, and all the circumstan-

ces that could be wanted, justified him in following. The retardation of a paper of such high importance is truly surprizing, and exhibits a strange fatality. Certain it is, that if it had come into his hands in ordinary time, the whole plan of the campaign would have had a turn widely different. Speaking on this subject, he said, "If this letter, or any hint that such a course would have been even connived at by the government, had been received, it would have been in my power to have captured the British shipping in the bay. I would have marched at once against Barrancas, and carried it, and thus prevented any escape; but acting on my own responsibility against a neutral power, it became essential for me to proceed with more caution than my judgment or wishes approved, and consequently important ad-

vantages were lost, which might have been secured."

But situated in this awkward manner, with a stumbling block in his way, he did what alone remained for him to do. Colonel Hawkins having procured for him the services of some confidential Indians acquainted with the route, he despatched them to the Appalachicola and towards the coast, enjoining them to return upon gaining certain intelligence of the strength of the enemy, their position, and if attainable, their ulterior views. After a lapse of fifteen days, the Indians came back with information that corroborated beyond question the tidings brought at the first. They reported that the English had made their appearance in considerable force ; that they were then in the Bay of St. Rose, and that muskets and ammunition had been freely distributed amongst the disaf-



fects Indians, to the several tribes of whom messengers had been sent by the invaders, soliciting them to come down to the coast. Hereupon the General addressed a communication to the governor of Florida, acquainting him with the intelligence that had been received, and desiring him to state upon what principles he regulated his conduct in harbouring and giving encouragement to the avowed enemies of the United States. An evasive answer was returned, which drew from the General a more explicit and unreserved application. He despatched a messenger to lay before the governor the plain ground of his complaint, to gather from him a definite intimation of the course he designed to follow, and whether it was his intent to direct his steps by the line that was marked in the treaties subsisting between the two nations, or by taking crooked ways,

and adopting a sinister policy, to disguise the realities of war under the semblance of friendship. By this method he hoped to conclude the governor, and bring him at once to his ultimatum. The governor deliberated for some time on the propriety of condescending to make any reply at all. General Fournoy, acting in conformity to the orders of Mr. Madison, had heretofore omitted to answer a despatch of his. But after mature reflection upon this delicate point, he thought best to forego the satisfaction of a retaliating silence, and give an explanation, in obedience, as he said, to those "high and generous feelings peculiar to the Spanish character." With respect to the Indian chiefs who themselves committed, and were the instigators of other savages who did commit, bloody atrocities upon the persons of American citizens, and whom the General

sought to be given up to the execution of justice ; he averred that they were not “at that time” within the limits of his government ; that the rules of hospitality forbade him to turn them away unassisted in the moment of their abject distress ; and that he could not, if it were in his power, surrender them, without violating the laws of nations, to which the king, his master, had ever strictly adhered, whereof ample proof was furnished to the United States, in his forbearance to demand of *them*, “the traitors, insurgents, incendiaries, and assassins of his chiefs, namely, Guiterres, Toledo, and many others, whom the American government protected and maintained in committing hostilities—in fomenting the revolution, and in lighting up the flames of discord in the internal provinces of the kingdom of Mexico.” Assigning his motives for the permis-

sion he granted the English to bring arms and ammunition into his province to be placed in the hands of the Indians, wherewithal to render their hostile operations the more effectual, he took occasion to ask, "if the United States were ignorant, that at the conquest of Florida, there was a treaty between Great Britain and the Creek Indians; and whether they did not know, that it still existed between Spain and those tribes? But turn your eyes," said he, "to the island of Barrataria, and you will there perceive, that within the very territory of the United States, pirates are sheltered and protected, with the manifest design of committing hostilities by sea upon the merchant vessels of Spain; and with such scandalous notoriety, that the cargoes of our vessels, taken by them, have been publicly sold in Louisiana." How a treaty between Great Britain

and the Creeks affected the Spanish authorities in their exercise of dominion over the provinces of Florida, is not so obvious to conjecture, as Don Manriquez, from his manner of putting this question about the knowledge of its existence, appears to have supposed. True it is that Lafite, and other freebooters of the high seas, had carried spoliated cargoes into Barrataria, and there obtained the proceeds of their piratical enterprize. But their success on these occasions contravened the known laws and regulations of the country, and arose from the contrivances and clandestine arrangements of smuggling, so ingeniously planned, and dexterously managed, as to afford those lawless depredators an opportunity to elude the vigilance of our government and set at nought its legal inhibitions. Whereas comfort



and succour were openly and profusely given by the representative officers of Spain to the avowed and acrimonious foes of the United States, at a time when Spain professed, and was by treaty bound to observe, an amicable conduct towards this republic, and in virtue of those friendly ties was actually enjoying, as concerned belligerents, the rights and privileges of a neutral power. Yet Don Manriquez, the governor, further to show the sincerity of his good will, and the interest he felt in the concerns of the United States, took leave to censure the means that had been used to cancel the title of the Indians to the Alabama, and was kind to admonish the government of the necessity to obviate with timely precaution, the danger to which the country might soon be exposed, in consequence of the recent pacification of Europe. This explanation

fell short of giving to the General the complete satisfaction he desired. The governor appeared to him somewhat obtrusive in his remarks, and in a style of corresponding loftiness, he replied to his excellency thus : “ Were I clothed with diplomatic powers, for the purpose of discussing the topics embraced in the wide range of the injuries of which you complain, and which have so long since been adjusted, I could easily demonstrate that the United States have been always faithful to their treaties, steadfast in their friendships, nor have ever claimed any thing that was not warranted by justice. They have endured many insults from the governors and other officers of Spain, which, if sanctioned by their sovereign, would have amounted to acts of hostility, without any previous declaration on the subject. They have excited the savages to war, and af-

fording them the means of waging it : the property of our citizens has been captured at sea, and if compensation has not been refused, it has at least been withheld. But as no such powers have been delegated to me, I shall not assume them, but leave them to the representatives of our respective governments.

“ I have the honour of being entrusted with the command of this district. Charged with its protection, and the safety of its citizens, I feel my inability to discharge the task, and trust your excellency will always find me ready and willing to go forward, in the performance of that duty, whenever circumstances shall render it necessary. I agree with you perfectly, that candour and polite language should, at all times, characterize the communications between the officers of friendly sovereignties ; and I assert without the

fear of contradiction, that my former letters were couched in terms the most respectful and unexceptionable. I only requested, and did not demand, as you have asserted, that the ring-leaders of the Creek confederacy might be delivered to me, who had taken refuge in your town, and who had violated all laws, moral, civil and divine. This I had a right to do, from the treaty which I sent you, and which I now again enclose, with a request that you will change your translator; believing, as I do, that your former one was wrong, and has deceived you. What kind of an answer you returned, a reference to your letter will explain. The whole of it breathed nothing but hostility, grounded upon assumed facts, and false charges, and entirely evading the inquiries that had been made.

“I can but express my astonishment at your protest against the cession on the Alabama, lying within the acknowledged limits and jurisdiction of the United States, and which has been ratified in due form, by the principal chiefs and warriors of the nation. But my astonishment subsides, when on comparison, I find it upon a par with the rest of your letter and conduct ; taken together, they afford a sufficient justification for any course on my part, or consequences that may ensue to yourself. My government will protect every inch of her territory, her citizens and their property, from insult and depredation, regardless of the political revolutions of Europe ; and although she has been at all times sedulous to preserve a good understanding with all the world, yet she has sacred rights, that cannot be trampled upon with impunity. Spain had better



look to her own intestine commotions, before she walks forth in that majesty of strength and power, which you threaten to draw down upon the United States."

But notwithstanding the reluctance of Don Manriquez, the governor, to satisfy the General with an explicit disclosure of the facts, he contrived through another medium to attain the information he coveted to possess. Captain Gordon, who had repaired to Pensacola for the purpose of noting the occurrences there, having returned to Fort Jackson, acquainted him that he had seen between one hundred and fifty and two hundred soldiers and officers, with a park of artillery, and likewise about five hundred Indians dressed in British uniform, armed with new muskets, and under the drill of British officers.

A critical period had now arrived to quicken the powerful energies of his capacious mind, and to draw forth our General to an exhibition of the qualifications he possessed to bear the national ægis around a mighty people in the hour of their exigency, and menaced on all sides. Expediting the settlement of his business at Fort Jackson, he hastened to Mobile that plans might be devised, and dispositions formed with promptitude, for the defence of the Southern country. Strongly impressed by the news from Pensacola, he again presented his opinions before the administration, of the folly to use longer forbearance towards the Spanish authorities in Florida, the kind of treatment their insolence and unfriendly partialities deserved, and the important benefits to be gained from having the disposal of those fortresses which the officers of Spain

were lending for the accommodation and security of the hostile savages, and were literally appropriating now to facilitate the invasion of the transatlantic enemy. Previous to his departure, he ordered the warriors of the different tribes to be marshalled, and retained by pay in the service of the United States. He likewise addressed the governors of Tennessee, Louisiana, and Mississippi, entreating their efficient co-operation, and exhorting them to vigilance and activity, with many bold and patriotic touches of eloquence. At this time the regular force under his command consisted of only the 3rd regiment, a part of the 39th, and a part of the 44th.

There being now many cogent reasons for desiring the service of a numerous body of troops, and aware of the delay inseparable from perfecting militia requisitions, he sent

Colonel Butler, his Adjutant General, to Tennessee, for the purpose of raising a volunteer force, that some additional assistance might be ready at hand to act upon the spur of any sudden occasion. Symptoms of a bold attempt were soon after his arrival at Mobile, conspicuously evident, and therefore he wrote to the Colonel to expedite his levy, and join him with all practicable speed. Colonel Butler was not remiss to give prompt attention to the General's letter; he also industriously urged forward Colonel Lowry's militia, which had been employed in the several garrisons established through the Indian country. Captain Baker and Captain Butler, with the regular troops that were lately enlisted, set out from Nashville with commendable activity, and reached Mobile in the space of fourteen days. Direct application was made to General

Coffee, to advance with the cavalry which he might be able to collect. A public circular was at the same time distributed amongst the people, setting forth the alarming danger of the country, and inviting all who took an interest in the preservation of their liberty and free institutions, to rendezvous at Fayetteville, on a day appointed. No fewer than two thousand men, well provided with rifles and muskets, assembled together at the designated place, on the very day, though some of them had to travel four hundred miles over very rugged roads at a very wet period of the year ; a voluntary journey of patriotism, less credible than romantic, to be told in a land of conscription, but in these United States the story would be heard with patience, nay, even believed from the lips of a doubtful narrator, who did not neglect to say at the end of his statement, that the summons was



undersigned by the name of the valiant and successful General Coffee.

Whatever delicacy may have operated to withhold the General from reducing Pensacola, was superseded by the necessity of the measure upon its positive occupation by Colonel Nicholls, who assuming the character of a liberator, invited the Southern people to range themselves under his standard, and addressed them with the following pompous harangue :\*

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\* Natives of Louisiana! On you the first call is made, to assist in liberating from a faithless, imbecile government, your paternal soil: Spaniards, Frenchmen, Italians, and British, whether settled, or residing for a time in Louisiana, on you, also, I call, to aid me in this just cause: the American usurpation in this country must be abolished, and the lawful owners of the soil put in possession. I am at the head of a large body of Indians, well armed, disciplined, and commanded by British officers—a good train of artillery, with every requisite, seconded by the powerful aid of a numerous British and Spanish squadron of ships and vessels of war. Be not alarmed,

It is doubtful whether Colonel Nicholls was delegated to act in the

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inhabitants of the country, at our approach; the same good faith and disinterestedness, which has distinguished the conduct of Britons in Europe, accompanies them here; you will have no fear of litigious taxes imposed on you for the purpose of carrying on an unnatural and unjust war; your property, your laws, the peace and tranquility of your country, will be guaranteed to you by men who will suffer no infringement of theirs; rest assured that these brave red men only burn with an ardent desire of satisfaction for the wrongs they have suffered from the Americans; to join you in liberating these Southern provinces from their yoke, and drive them into those limits formerly prescribed by my sovereign. The Indians have pledged themselves, in the most solemn manner, not to injure, in the slightest degree, the persons or properties of any but enemies. A flag over any door, whether Spanish, French, or British, will be a certain protection; nor dare any Indian put his foot on the threshold thereof, under penalty of death from his own countrymen; not even an enemy will an Indian put to death, except resisting in arms; and as for injuring helpless women and children, the red men by their good conduct, and treatment to them, will (if it

character which he represented himself to bear. His pains were less

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be possible,) make the Americans blush for their more inhuman conduct, lately on the Escambia, and within a neutral territory.

Inhabitants of Kentucky, you have too long borne with grievous impositions—the whole brunt of the war has fallen on your brave sons; be imposed on no longer, but either range yourselves under the standard of your forefathers, or observe a strict neutrality. If you comply with either of these offers, whatever provisions you send down, will be paid for in dollars, and the safety of the persons bringing it, as well as the free navigation of the Mississippi, guaranteed to you.

Men of Kentucky, let me call to your view, (and I trust to your abhorrence) the conduct of those factions which hurried you into this civil, unjust, and unnatural war, at a time when Great Britain was straining every nerve, in defence of her own, and the liberties of the world—when the bravest of her sons were fighting and bleeding in so sacred a cause—when she was spending millions of her treasure in endeavouring to pull down one of the most formidable and dangerous tyrants that ever disgraced the form of man—when groaning Europe was almost in her last gasp—when Britons alone showed an undaunted front—basely did those assassins endeavour to

liberally requited if he was so employed, than might be expected, from the wonted munificence of the British government, whose bounty has been at times extended to private spies and informers. The Colonel brought two Indian chiefs along with him to England, but finding his hospitality too expensive for his means,

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stab her from the rear; she has turned on them, renovated from the bloody but successful struggle, Europe is happy and free, and she now hastens, justly, to avenge the unprovoked insult. Show them that you are not collectively unjust: leave that *contemptible few* to shift for themselves: let those slaves of the tyrant send an embassy to Elba, and implore his aid; but let every honest, upright American spurn them with united contempt. After the experience of twenty-one years, can you longer support those brawlers for liberty, who call it freedom, when themselves are free? Be no longer their dupes—accept of my offers—every thing I have promised in this paper, I guarantee you, on the *sacred honour* of a *British officer*.

Given under my hand, at my *Head-Quarters*,  
Pensacola, this 29th day of August, 1814.

EDWARD NICHOLLS.

it is said, that he hinted rather broadly to his guests, after many fruitless applications to the government to be assisted in the cost of his table, that no detainer would be served upon them, if they had grown weary of roast beef and desired to return to the enjoyment of their venison. His actions received no public avowal from the ministers. When Mr. Whitbread, in the House of Commons, accused the crown advisers with the cruel meanness of inciting the savages to butcher the peaceful inhabitants; Lord Castlereagh got rid of the difficulty, as his manner was, when he found himself either unable or *politically disinclined* to confront it, by escaping from the charge, smoothing his way with that insipid oiliness which marked the general style of his discourse. This doubtfulness gathers further probability from the very character



of Colonel Nicholls, who rates as a shallow fool-hardy sort of man, less considerate than pushing and courageous, and might be named the Captain Bobadil of the British marines. A respectable officer attached to the marine corps, who made one of a small evening party, talking of Colonel Nicholls, observed, that he had *done his best* to serve his king and country, but that nothing could be more irksome than to sit and listen to him blowing up the air drawn glories of his own achievements.

The proclamation he put forth was adopted well enough to impress individuals of principles already corrupted, and to excite to activity such as had a disrelish for the republican system of the United States. There are no persuasive charms in the composition, nor is there much force in

the reasoning whereby to affect either the fancies or the understandings of the people. The paper was nevertheless calculated to work mischief, and surely it was not to be tolerated, that the author of an inflammatory publication, in a moment of actual war, should be employed in a neutral territory as the revolutionizer of a friendly power. But when it is considered that this territory was not only neutral, but adjoining, and virtually constituting a portion of the same integral soil, and was moreover disposed a vast distance from the dominions of the enemy, and such was the case of Florida; it becomes a proposition which establishes its own validity, that General Jackson, being entrusted with the protection of the South, was in duty bound, to read Don Manriquez a practical lesson, by which he might learn the impropriety of entertaining

Colonel Nicholls as his guest, and behaving towards all his British visitors in a corresponding manner of inconsiderate hospitality. It was even ascertained that the national flag of Britain played from the forts, associated with that of Spain. Nothing could have restrained the General from directly proceeding to Pensacola, but a sense of the danger that might arise if he left Mobile in a state of destitution. And upon this account he awaited the advance of General Coffee with the Tennessee volunteers.

Meantime he devoted every hour with ardent zeal to make defensive preparations; and Fort Bowyer claimed his particular attention. Fort Bowyer is situated on the extremity of a narrow neck of land, about eighteen miles below the head of Mobile bay, and commands the entrance into it, and all those rivers which, emptying

into the bay, communicate with the Indian country ; and yet the government had hitherto bestowed but little of its care in improving this valuable fortress. The General from his coming to Mobile, had not ceased to regard it with a serious eye, and to contribute to its strength. He entrusted the command to Major Lawrence, and the sequel proves that he was not mistaken in the expectations he had formed of that skilful and intrepid officer.

On the 13th of September, 1814, Colonel Nicholls, with a considerable force of marines, Spaniards and Indians, commenced his operations against Fort Bowyer, seconded by water with four vessels, two of them brigs, and two schooners. But notwithstanding a powerful assault was made, and for some days maintained with the vigorous obstinacy the importance of carrying it called forth,

the enemy retired again to Pensacola, having lost in this attempt a very excellent vessel and many lives.

Accounts had recently found their way, that mighty preparations were going forward in England, to send a powerful body of troops across the Atlantic, destined to act against the lower country. Still therefore the more anxiously was General Coffee expected. At length the gratifying intelligence arrived, that General Coffee had reached a spot not far distant from Fort St. Stephens, on the Mobile river; and that, his original force being augmented by sundry accessions while on his march, he had now under him nearly three thousand men. Straightway the General proceeded to join him on the 26th of October, and lost not a moment to set all things in readiness for accomplishing his long projected visit to Pensacola. His greatest dif-



difficulty was the same which in common life, retards the execution of many an enterprize—the insufficiency of means. The quarter masters had no money to give, and the good faith of the government was a doubted pledge. In this dilemma the General, partly by using his personal funds, and partly by raising sums on his own responsibility, contrived to make an economical provision for the troops on the 2d of November, and started forthwith on his favourite expedition. In a few days he halted his army about a mile and a half from the town. And although it was a measure of necessity to dislodge the British, yet his plan having never received suitable encouragement from his government, he was anxious to show the Spaniards that his conduct was not the result of any unfriendly disposition towards *them*, but impelled solely by the urgency of

his situation ; and therefore he preferred a short trial at negotiation to striking an instantaneous blow. Accordingly he despatched Major Piere of the 44th regiment, with a flag, to acquaint the Governor that he had come to require the forts of Barrancas, St. Rose, and St. Michael to be held by the United States, until Spain was enabled by an adequate force to protect her own province, and preserve unimpaired her neutral character. The Major was charged to unfold with candour his commission, and to ask a reply to his embassy equally frank and explicit. As the Major approached the fort of St. Michael, a fire was opened upon him, and he was obliged to return without an interview. There was now but a moment left to balance, between a second attempt to gain a peaceful occupation, or to seize on Pensacola by force of arms. It happened op-

portunately that a Spanish corporal was in the camp: him therefore the General employed to be the carrier of another communication. He, upon this occasion, desired to know upon what account the flag that had been sent was insulted, instead of any spirit of conciliation being manifested towards the United States. The governor in his answer protested that the English were to be *blamed* for the outrage committed on the flag, and that he was ready to entertain whatever proposals the General might be pleased to make. The governor's answer was a very acceptable one, upon the whole; his own good sense indeed made it plain to the General that if the Spaniards themselves did the offensive act, it was not *of* themselves they acted. By a handsome apology, free from evasion, the governor would have consulted "those high and honoura-

ble feelings so peculiar to the Spanish character," much more appropriately than by offering an exculpation which was already very well understood. It was mean in him to do so ; and it is worthy of remark, that shifting the onus of their guilt from their own shoulders to others', was the second instance of depravity shown by the first transgressors.\*

But the ending clause, to wit, "that the governor was ready to entertain any overtures the General might be pleased to make," was a piece of most joyful news, for if the General could but obtain possession of *Fort Barrancas* and the other forts *previous to the British gaining intelligence* of that event, their shipping in the bay would be deprived of an ability to escape into the outer chan-

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\* See Genesis, 3rd chapter, verses 12 and 13.

nel, and be locked up in complete duress. In the hope of attaining an object so superlatively to be desired, he again deputed Major Piere to wait upon the intendant, and deliver to him a paper, in which he stated, "I come not as the enemy of Spain ; not to make war, but to ask for peace ; to demand security for my country, and that respect to which she is entitled and must receive. My force is sufficient, and my determination taken, to prevent a future repetition of the injuries she has received. I demand, therefore, the possession of the Barrancas, and other fortifications, with all your munitions of war. If delivered peaceably, the whole will be receipted for and become the subject of future arrangement by our respective governments ; while the property, laws, and religion of your citizens shall be respected. But if taken by an appeal



to arms, let their blood be upon your own head. I will not hold myself responsible for the conduct of my enraged soldiers. One hour is given you for deliberation, when your determination must be had." The answer was dissentient. The General put his army in motion. To mislead the expectations of the British he ordered a detachment of five hundred men to advance along that road which was direct to the city from his encampment ; and the feint succeeding to impress the opinion that he would approach the same way, the vessels were ranged and the guns pointed as if such in reality had been his intention. But taking a different course with the main strength of his army, he was first perceived on the Eastern side of the town, too far distant from the flotilla to be reached, and thence pushing forward, was presently in the streets under cover

of the houses. Here the temporary batteries gave the troops some annoyance, but the oppugnation did not continue long. The governor himself bearing in mind Jackson's declaration that "he would not hold himself responsible for the conduct of his enraged soldiers, unless a peaceable delivery was made," ran hastily in quest of the General, and in manifest agitation of all his sensibilities implored his tenderness—promising to surrender all the forts, arsenals, and munitions of war, and to do whatever else might be required. Fort Barrancas, lying fourteen miles below the town, could not be safely visited till the other forts were properly secured; and in the meantime the British destroyed it by explosion, an occurrence which was extremely mortifying. After a lapse of two days the General withdrew his force from Pensacola, and returned to

**Mobile.** The troops cannot be too highly commended for their moderate and correct behaviour while they continued to possess the city. Before he departed, the General addressed a note to governor Manriquez, laying down specifically the causes wherefore he had entered into his province, and concluding thus : " As the Barrancas and the adjacent fortresses have been surrendered to and blown up by the British, contrary to the good faith I had reposed in your promises, it is out of my power to protect and guard your neutrality, as otherwise I should have done. The enemy has retreated, the hostile Creeks have fled for safety to the forest ; and I now retire from your town, leaving you to re-occupy your forts, and protect the rights of your citizens."

At Mobile he awaited with anxious expectation the arrival of General Winchester, that he might invest him with the command there, and set out himself for New Orleans. He directed General Coffee and Colonel Hinds with the dragoons from the territory, to proceed towards New Orleans, and to occupy, as forage might be conveniently procured for the horses, some central point whence they might be summonsed with readiness wherever need required. Colonel Hayne, the inspector general, was sent to the mouth of the Mississippi to examine its bank for the purpose of ascertaining whether there was along that river such a commanding position as by the aid of batteries would hinder an ascent, should one be attempted by the enemy there.

And now, learning that General Winchester had come to the Alaba-

ma river ; on the 22d day of November, he left Mobile, and arrived at New Orleans on the 1st of December.

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CHAPTER IV.

*The British make an Assault on New Orleans; and are overthrown by the defensive contrivances of the General.*

LETTERS from Pensacola, particularly one addressed to Commodore Patterson, announced the arrival of the British armament. The letter addressed to the Commodore, bearing date 4th December, stated that a large force of the enemy was descried off that port, and that New-Orleans was commonly understood to be the object of attack. The writer proceeded to say, "it amounts at present to about eighty vessels, and more than double that number are momentarily looked for to form



a junction ; when an immediate commencement of their operations will take place. I am not able to learn how, when, or where the attack will be made ; but I understand they have vessels of all descriptions, and a large body of troops. Admiral Cochrane commands ; and his ship, the *Tonnant*, lies, at this moment, just outside the bar. They certainly appear to have swept the West Indies of troops, and probably no means will be left untried, to obtain their object. The Admiral arrived only yesterday noon."

Every hour added fresh weight of testimony that the British were at hand, and every day witnessed new exemplifications of our General's industry and care. He was constantly engaged in devising measures, or personally employed in the superintendence of their execution.

Lieutenant Jones who commanded the gun boats, was ordered to watch the motions of the English fleet, which, it had been discovered, lay off Ship Island, and to oppose with his flotilla, the landing of the enemy. He continued to hover in the vicinity of Ship Island, until the 12th of December, when finding that the strength of the British had received a considerable augmentation, he retired to a station close to Malheureux Isle, whence he could more easily withdraw to the Rigolets, and at the Rigolets he was expressly instructed to form his boats for battle. Perceiving on the 13th that an attack was about to be made, he lifted his anchors in order to recede to the moorings prescribed. But his aim was defeated by a strong wind that had blown for several days from the lake towards the gulf, which by drifting away the water had not only ren-

dered the deepest parts too shallow to float the vessels, but occasioned an impetuous current adverse to the proposed navigation. Oarage proving ineffectual, every article of weight that could be spared, was heaved overboard, but to no purpose. Finally, however, the tide rescued them from their perilous situation; and they cleared their pursuers, and anchored at 1 o'clock the next morning on the West passage of Malheureux Isle. Day light appearing, they observed the English barges under way towards them, and were again prevented from reaching the Rigolets by the same causes which obstructed their attempts the day before. Constrained to meet or strike to the foe, in the very quarter wherein they were at the time, the best position admissible was taken, and preparations were made for an engagement. The issue of the contest was disas-

trous; but considering the vast inequality of strength, the fight by no means soiled the honours of the star spangled banner. The British are silent with respect to the amount of the force produced on their side, as if they were themselves persuaded that success rather followed their undertaking than victory crowned their enterprise.

The General happened to be at the lakes, whither he had gone to survey the works directed to be raised, when accounts were brought to him of this misfortune. He was greatly effected upon hearing it; for the opportunities of gaining intelligence by water, ended with the loss of the flotilla.

Expresses were sent off immediately to General Coffee to urge forward the Kentucky and Tennessee troops with all possible haste. In his forcible manner, he said in his

letter to General Coffee, " You must not sleep, until you reach me, or arrive within striking distance. Your accustomed activity is looked for. Innumerable defiles present themselves, where your services and riflemen will be all important. An opportunity is at hand to reap for yourself and brigade the approbation of your country." General Coffee obeyed the summons with amazing celerity, hastening his march with such expedition, that he formed his encampment within four miles' distance from New Orleans, in less than five days after the date of the General's communication, which came into his hands while at the intermediate position he had recently taken, upwards of one hundred and thirty miles from the city. With equal speed Colonel Hinds arrived at the head of his dragoons; while General Carroll, having on his route down the Mis-



Mississippi overtaken a boat laden with arms, which were now so very much needed, gave no little joy by announcing his advance with that acceptable appendage in his train.

All the troops, except those of Kentucky had now come forward, and the General had the gratification to witness the most prompt alacrity evinced by his officers, in meeting his wishes to the full extent.

But his mind laboured under the most perplexing uneasiness, when he considered the universal apathy which obtained, and the strong reason for suspecting that treason lurked in the hearts of some powerful men. The legislature of the state had decreed an embargo. The General saw in the act an encroachment, however defensible, upon congressional powers; and the necessity of the times

which dictated the embargo appeared to his contemplation of it, to suggest with equal force the propriety of rendering the writ of *habeas corpus* inoperative, during the continuance of this alarming juncture. He had lately received a communication from governor Claibourne, in which, adverting to the course which the General pursued to strike from the hands of the British the instrument of hostility they had found in Pensacola, his excellency pointedly says—"Enemies to the country may blame your prompt and energetic measures; but in the person of every patriot you will find a supporter. I am well aware of the lax police of this city, and indeed of the whole state with respect to strangers. I think with you that our country is filled with traitors and spies. On this subject I have written pressing-ly to the city authorities, and parish

judges. Some regulations, I hope, will be adopted by the first, and greater vigilance be exercised in future by the latter." Having found that in this perilous situation of things, when the British were about to land to a certainty, and the point of landing at which to give them opposition alone unknown, when the discontented were longing for the slightest encouragement to become truants to their country, finding that at this very moment, the legislature, instead of coming to a positive conclusion at once, upon the subject, treated his proposal to suspend the Habeas Corpus, as a theme of declamation, he boldly ventured for the public good, to assume the responsibility himself, and declared "New Orleans and its environs to be under martial law." It was provided that all persons entering the city, should immediately report themselves to the

Adjutant General; or failing to do so, be arrested and detained for examination. None were to depart from it, or be suffered to pass beyond the chain of sentinels, but by permission from the commanding General, or one of the staff: nor was any vessel or craft to be permitted to sail on the river, or the lakes, but by the same authority, or a passport signed by the commander of the naval forces. The lamps were to be extinguished by 9 o'clock at night; after which time, all persons found in the streets, or from their respective homes, without permission in writing, signed as above, were to be arrested as spies, and detained for examination.

If the awful danger to which the land was exposed, be taken into consideration, and the discordant opinions of a mixed community, by the jarring elements of which, one universal wreck was threatened, surely

the candid judgment will decide that the preceding regulations were no less moderate than necessary. And yet, the legislative body of Louisiana took umbrage against the General, for prescribing these rules of needful austerity, influenced by technical niceties of abstract doctrines, and a captiousness on account of constitutional forms, unworthy the good sense of that enlightened assembly. He proclaimed martial law "under a solemn conviction that the country committed to his care, could, by such a measure alone, be saved from utter ruin; and from a religious belief, that he was performing the most important and sacred duty. By it he intended to supersede such civil powers, as in their operation, interfered with those he was obliged to exercise. He thought, that at such a moment, constitutional forms should be sus-



pended, for the preservation of constitutional rights; -and that there could be no question, whether it were better to depart, for a moment, from the enjoyment of our dearest privileges, or to have them wrested from us for ever.

Thus did our General wake and watch for all—externally fortifying the city, and at the same time, guarding it against the internal machinations of the ill disposed amongst its own citizens.

Notwithstanding small gun boats plied the lakes, and scouts were dispersed in all directions, the British forces landed unperceived, and the first notice of their debarkation, was the actual discovery of the hostile troops issuing from the swamp and woods, seven miles below the city.

The General, reflecting that his own soldiers had been well inured to the fatigues of marching, and

were then fresh to undergo them, whilst those of the enemy were spent by the hardships and weariness of navigation, and therefore unfit to exert their usual powers of body, whatever they might be ; and solicitous to gain even a slight advantage in the beginning, that his troops might feel their own significance, and drop the superstitious awe with which they might have been impressed by the idea of antagonists used to blood and familiar with victory ; determined to make trial of the invaders the very day he heard of them setting foot on land, which was about 1 o'clock in the afternoon of the 23d of December.

The signal guns were fired and the several divisions of the army drawn together in hurried concentration. The rough clangour and military bustle preparatory to going forth to the field of battle, over-

stretched the sensibilities of the women, who now, unable longer to stifle their apprehensiveness, and restrain their emotions, burst into open sobs or dissolved in tears. The General pitying their distress, curbed his prancing steed and requested Mr. Livingston to bid them in the French language, "Not to be alarmed," and to tell them "that the enemy should *never reach the city.*" This assurance seemed to give them a charmed life, banished their despondency, and stilled the tumult of their palpitating bosoms.

True to his vow, the General on the eve of that very day, bade salutation to the foe. On the 28th of December also the embodied forces came in sanguinary contact. But on neither occasion was the result decisive. From the day of landing, however, till the end of the month, sundry rencounters and skirmishes

took place, wherein fortune alternated her favour with wonted versatility.

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The British was encamped two miles below the American army. Nothing interposed to obstruct the view of either, a level plain lying between them both.

A defective complement of heavy ordnance was the imputed cause of the failure to carry the works on the 28th of December, and to remedy that want, occupied the attention of the English during the three following days.

The morning of the 1st of January set in with a very thick fog which did not clear away until 9 o'clock. Several batteries were then discerned, about six hundred yards distant, mounting eighteen and twenty-four pound carronades, which suddenly opened with a tremendous peal that

rent the air, while congreve rockets hovered in every quarter.

At the very *first sound of cannon*, the GENERAL hastened to the line, prepared to make his arrangements as occasions might suggest. The roar of artillery was uninterrupted on both sides until noon, by which time two of the British batteries were nearly beaten down, and many of the guns rendered unavailable, dismounted and useless. The battery which was raised nearest to the river continued in operation till 3 o'clock, when the assailants, finding their endeavours to force a breach in the American entrenchments to be altogether impotent, dropped the attempt and retired.

The British commander then ordered a division of his troops to pass through the woods and make an effort to turn the left of the American line, supposing it to reach to the bor-



ders only of the swamp. But in this he was mistaken. General Coffee's brigade, which occupied the left station, had been extended into the swamp as far as it was practicable to enter it. The unforeseen elongation of the American line occasioned the British detachment to pause, and they finally gave up the enterprize. Had the extreme left of the line been turned, a powerful diversion to favour the reserve columns, which were in readiness to be brought forward, was expected to ensue, but the formation of that plan by the enemy had not been concealed from the intuitive foresight of General Jackson, nor did he neglect precautionary steps to meet the execution of such a project.

The heavy shot of the British having penetrated the entrenchment in many parts, its strength was found less than had been at first supposed.

Additional bales of cotton were therefore ordered to be brought and applied to the embrasures. Among others whose property was made use of at this difficult and indiscriminating crisis, was a French trader, the sensibilities of whom were deeply affected through apprehension of the damage that might befall his cotton. His concern impelled him to go before the General, and desire that his goods might be delivered back to him. Understanding that at this alarming juncture, when it behoved all to appear in arms, the trader was engaged in the performance of no military service whatever, and that he was a person of great possessions in the city, the General ordered a bystander to put a musket in the applicant's hand, and himself to join the line, declaring that none were better entitled than the owners of property to fight in defence of it.

Meanwhile the British withdrew to their encampment, in expectation of being reinforced; and the Kentucky troops were looked for every hour at New Orleans; so that preparations were busily made on either side, and prognosticated the near approach of an awful time.

The American army was posted behind an entrenchment, formed of earth, and extended in a straight line from the river a considerable distance into the swamp. In the front of it was a deep ditch which had been used previously as a mill-race. It was at that time dry towards the Mississippi, the river having receded, but collections of water still remained in many parts of it. Guns of different calibre, from six to thirty-two pounders, were mounted along the line, at unequal distances, to the centre of General Carroll's

division. In advance of the entrenchment and close to the river-side, a redoubt was erected with embrasures, commanding the road along the levee and capable of raking the ditch in front. General Morgan had been ordered on the 24th of December, to cross the Mississippi and occupy the right or Western bank ; for the General stretched his defence to the right bank also of the river, apprehensive lest the city should be attempted through Barrataria. His greatest fears, next to what visited his mind on account of his own position where he stationed the troops that most needed encouragement, were excited for the position on the Chef Menteur road, occupied by Governor Claiborne, at the head of the Louisiana militia, and therefore he took the most interested care in defending *it*. The same plan was followed in disposing

the line on the right, as had been adopted in arranging the left, lower down than that on the left, and extending to the swamp at a right angle with the river.

About two miles in the rear of this line of defence, the General had laid out another, intended to constitute a rallying point, should he be constrained to retire from the first. And he expected to reach this second line of defence without material loss by means of the cavalry giving a momentary check to the progress of the advancing enemy. Superior advantages attached to this position likewise.

Both to present a commanding front to the British, and encourage his own troops, he placed in the rear line for a display all the unarmed men, who made no small number; and strictly interdicting all communication between the lines, unless



through confidential officers, disguised his weakness from the enemy, and even in his own lines an ignorance respecting it.

On the 4th of January the troops from Kentucky arrived at head-quarters, under the command of General Thomas. They amounted to upwards of twenty-two hundred men, but the wretched state of their appointments diminished very much the real benefit of their acquisition. The forwardness with which the citizens of Kentucky obeyed the first summons to arms, and entered into the North Western campaigns, unhappily exhausted in the course of their disasters the armory of the State. But they nevertheless proceeded on to New Orleans, expecting to be supplied upon arriving there. About five hundred of them had serviceable muskets, but the guns which the others had brought along with them

were unfit for any beneficial application. The Louisiana militia came no less destitute of arms ; so that although the mayor, at the instance of the General, had brought into requisition every instrument that could inflict a wound, wherever to be found throughout the city, the deficiency lay beyond the remedial power of present means to repair it. Every body *knew* that a boat was on the river, laden with arms intended for the use of the lower country, but nobody knew where it was *then*, nor *when* it would come. Full three hundred miles up the river was the boat sought, to hurry her on, still there was no account of the boat. General Jackson was deeply affected at seeing so many gallant spirits obliged to remain unemployed at so critical a time. All that he could do was to range them at his entrench-

ment in the rear, and by their numerical exhibition, swell the *conception* of his strength.

General Lambert had now brought a strong reinforcement to the British camp, and some effort of consequence was therefore expected to be made. It became more necessary than before to hide the unarmed condition of the troops, and none but very particular persons were allowed to quit the line, or to hold communication with it. The sentinels in front were increased to prevent the escape of deserters, and the utmost vigilance and circumspection observed, the expediency of concealment being rendered still greater as the danger more nearly approached. But notwithstanding all this precaution, a soldier contrived, on the evening of the 6th to pass to the British camp, and by him the enemy were made acquainted as to the defenceless situa-

tion of the force which had recently joined the army, and learning, no doubt from the same informant, that the centre of General Carroll's division was composed altogether of militia, they resolved upon *that* point to press their attack.

Some prisoners, who had been taken on the lake, reported that a number of British soldiers were kept constantly at work on Villery's canal to deepen it sufficiently for the transportation of ordnance to the Mississippi. Along the canal, companies were marched in constant succession back and forwards, to conceal those who were busily working in the rear. Doubt, however, upon this subject was removed by the actual discovery of the fact. For Commodore Patterson having proceeded down the river on the opposite side, took a favourable position, whence he distinctly saw the operation going on.

There could be no question but that it was intended to attack the line of defence under General Morgan; and if success followed that essay, the troops on the left being totally exposed to the fire of the redoubt constructed on the right, would be driven from the ground they occupied. An additional strength was therefore given to this line, that danger so momentous might be contravened. The second regiment of Louisiana militia, and four hundred of the Kentucky, were ordered across to sustain it. Much delay was occasioned by the difficulty of providing arms for them, so that of the four hundred Kentucky militia one hundred and eighty only were actually sent, and these did not arrive until the morning of the 8th. Upon arriving they were immediately marched on to support an advanced party under Major Arnaud, that had pro-



ceeded to watch the enemy's motions, and prevent their landing. No opposition, however, had been given at the proper time by Major Arnaud's detachment, and the British quietly debarked. General Morgan's position, besides being strengthened by several brass twelves, was fortified by a battery mounting twenty-four pounders, which was under the management of Commodore Patterson, and considerably augmented the means of defence. The line itself was not very strong, but if the troops that composed it performed their duty vigorously, competent enough to make an effectual resistance. Late in the night the Commodore ascertained that the boats had passed through the canal, and he forthwith communicated to the General, news of the event. It first struck the Commodore to drop the schooner *Louisiana* down the river

for the purpose of sinking them; but fearing lest she should be blown up by hot shot discharged from the batteries along the river, he did not execute the plan. Under the impression, therefore, that the firmness of the troops which amounted to fifteen hundred, aided by the line of defence, would baffle the contemplated aggression, the coming of the enemy was calmly awaited.

The General himself, who took charge of the left bank, was in readiness to repel an assault there whenever it might be attempted. Lieutenant Ross, with a company of the 7th regiment, was stationed to protect the redoubt on the levee. That part of the entrenchment which lay nearest to the river was occupied by the regular troops. General Carroll's division was in the centre, supported by the Kentucky militia under General John Adair; while the

extreme left of the line was guarded by General Coffee's brigade, drawn out a considerable distance into the swamp. The moment of making the attack was matter of uncertainty ; but all appearances indicated that the time was approaching nigh. The great activity which pervaded the British camp, the fascines and scaling ladders which were seen in preparation united to their efforts to propel the boats into the Mississippi, predicted the speedy developement of a decisive enterprize. The General was incessant in his application, totally engrossed by the business before him, he was steadily at his post, and spent little time in the refrection of his body. He doubled the sentinels and stretched forward their train as nigh to the British line as safety would admit. A considerable portion of the army was ranged in due order, with arms in their hands,

ready for action at the shortest notice.

The troops of both nations had now occupied the same plain in sight of each other for eight days.

At early dawn on the morning of the 8th of January, a sky-rocket was observed ascending from the left of the enemy, and immediately after a second was thrown from the right, by the river side. These signals intimated that all was in readiness to move. Presently the whole sky was illuminated with a discharge of rockets. Bombs and balls were poured in thick succession from the batteries, which had been re-constructed the night before, and mounted with heavy pieces of ordnance. Meantime the two divisions, commanded by Sir Edward Pakenham in person, supported by the Generals Keane and Gibbs, pressed forward, the right against the centre of Gen-<sup>l</sup>

eral Carroll's division, and the left against our redoubt on the levee. From the haziness of the atmosphere they advanced unperceived within a short distance of the entrenchment. They approached with a firm, quick and steady pace, in column, having a front sixty or seventy deep. As soon as they appeared, the American army gave three cheers; and the whole line blazed in a moment. The front of the enemy was swept by the unerring aim of the artillery and the destructive fire of the muskets, which played upon them without the least intermission, for as one party discharged their pieces, another came in their place, there was no cessation, and the whole was one continued volley. Battery No. 7, on the left was effectively served by Lieutenant Spotts, who kept up a constant fire that produced great execution. And the



batteries, Nos. 6 and 8, were also worked in steady and fatal operation. But notwithstanding the deadly rage of our fire, some of those valiant men pressed on, and succeeded in gaining the ditch in front of the works, where they remained during the action, and were afterwards taken prisoners. At length the British troops began to hesitate, and waver in their determination. Whereupon Sir Edward Pakenham hastened to the front, and endeavoured to rouse their declining courage to renewed activity. The brave commander was suffered to hold his perilous post but a very short time. Near the American line he received a mortal wound, and sunk in death on the arm of his aide de camp.

Upon the fall of Sir Edward Pakenham, the Generals Keane and Gibbs successively took the command; but they were both severely

wounded very soon after, and borne from the field. Meanwhile General Lambert, who was coming on with the reserve, met the troops retreating precipitately, and in great disorder. All his endeavours to stop them were attended with no effect. They continued their flight to a distance of four hundred yards, where a trench affording a temporary protection, the General contrived to rally them. The ground that lay before them was strewn with the bodies of the dead, or men writhing in the agonies of death, yet encouraged and impelled by the exhortations and authority of their officers, they advanced to the charge a second time. Attempting to deploy, as soon as they had approached near enough for that purpose, a fire, no less destructive than what they experienced upon their first assault, was opened upon them and arrested their progress. Our

batteries had been continued in active employment without the slightest intermission; and the grape and canister supported by the discharges of the musketry, prostrated the front of the columns as fast as they could be formed. Appalled by the frightful scene around them, and sensible that they had gained no advantage by the dangers already encountered, they shrunk back, confounded and dismayed. Thus did the Kentucky and Tennessee militia repel the advancing divisions of the enemy, and force them to quit the field amidst prodigious carnage.

The light companies of fusileers, the 43d and 93d regiments, and a hundred men from the West India regiment, were ordered to proceed under Colonel Rennie, taking the shelter of some chimneys that stood in the field, and then clearing them, to oblique to the river, and if practi-

cable carry the redoubt on the right. Colonel Rennie exhibited the utmost skill and manliness in the performance of his task. Although he met with a smart reception from Commodore Patterson's battery on the left bank, and the cannon with which the redoubt was mounted, he reached the works notwithstanding, and having crossed the ditch, he boldly sprung upon the wall, sword in hand, bidding his troops to follow him: but scarcely were the words articulated when he was covered and taken down by the rifles. His party however urging on, mounted the wall and entered at the embrasures in such force, that our troops, unable to withstand them retreated behind the redoubt. The instant General Jackson learned that the redoubt had been carried, he hastened a reinforcement to the right, to aid in its

recovery; but before they arrived, the British seeing their right division routed, and driven with precipitation from the field, considered their acquisition to be now untenable, and of no use, and therefore relinquished the redoubt to eschew the fruitless disasters that might follow an idle attempt to defend it. In this retreat they suffered very severely from Commodore Patterson's guns on the right bank, which enfiladed them also as they were advancing. Trains indeed of lifeless bodies marked their course to and from the redoubt. Fiercely galled as they were, they turned to the ditch whither the right division had already withdrawn, and remained there until night covered their return to camp.

But while the unsuccessful attempt was made to carry our line of defence on the left, an assault to second and support it was directed against



the right bank by a detachment of eight hundred men, under the command of Colonel Thornton. The difficulty of passing the boats from the canal to the river, and after that was surmounted, the strong current of the Mississippi retarded the troops for some hours beyond the time at which they were expected to land. The flashes however of the guns having intimated the commencement of action on the left, the Colonel set forward with all expedition towards the entrenched position of General Morgan. Two hundred of the Louisiana militia, the detachment (already noticed) under Major Arnaud, had been ordered by General Jackson, for the General as we have seen, had anticipated such a project, to repair to the Mississippi, and watchfully passing down the water side, observe the motions of the British, and hinder their debark-

ation if they should offer to make one. These two hundred Louisianians were indulged by the major, when they had marched along the river about a mile, with permission to halt, lie down and take repose; and to provide against incidental surprise, he appointed a single person only to keep watch, deeming perhaps the General over-nervous in his apprehensions. At day-break the wakeful sentinel roused his slumbering companions, and in a tone of much amazement, told them that he distinctly heard a great bustle going forward a little below. Restored to their senses, they unanimously agreed that the man indeed had spoken nothing but the truth, and immediately moved off the same way they had come, without once attempting the business of their mission. Meantime, about 5 o'clock in the morning, a like number of Kentucky militia had

arrived at General Morgan's line, and been despatched (as was said before) to second the Louisiana detachment. Proceeding three quarters of a mile, they had the mortification to meet the Louisianians coming hastily up the road with news that the British troops had made a landing, and were then ascending the levee at a rapid pace. Major Davis, who commanded the Kentuckians, affirmed the purport of the orders given him, and declared his intention with the present united force, to thwart the progress of the assailants. Some plank and scantling that happened to lie on the border of a saw-mill race, promised a shelter, and behind it he disposed the Kentucky militia on the road adjoining the river. The militia of Louisiana occupied the right. Here a check was given to the advance of the British, and they receded a little; and again pressing for-

ward to the charge, met again with a spirited opposition. But General Morgan's aid-de-camp, who was present, becoming alarmed for the safety of the troops, imprudently ordered a retreat; which bringing on perplexity and disorder, the whole body fled away to the entrenchment of General Morgan, which they gained without suffering loss indeed, but exceedingly spent by the precipitateness of their flight. Upon reaching the line they were instantly formed, and stretched out to the swamp, for the purpose of maintaining the right of the entrenchment. Colonel Thornton halted at an orange grove to take a survey of the line, and discovered it "to consist of a formidable redoubt on the river," and that its penetrable and weakest point was that adjoining the swamp. The entrenchment was defended by about fifteen hundred men, and upon it he made a most

vigorous charge, deploying as soon as he had attempted in two divisions the extreme right and centre of the line. His right division was annoyed very sharply by the field pieces mounted along our works, and was compelled to oblique, whereupon uniting with the left division, a joint attack was made upon the extreme right of the line, the position occupied by the Kentucky militia. Colonel Thornton had discovered this point to be the most assailable; it was unsupported by cannon, it was protected by a very slight ditch, and the hundred and eighty Kentucky militia men, whose station it was, were extended to the length of three hundred yards. It is therefore no subject for surprise that seeing their open exposure to the press of superior numbers, they should regard their means of defending it, inadequate to maintain their ground. They did give way, gradu-



ally at first, and a total discomfiture presently ensued. The Louisiana militia after discharging a few volleys were likewise put to the rout. By dint of great exertion their officers arrested their flight; but a discharge of congreve rockets, having burst among them, and set fire to the sugar canes and other combustible materials in the place, filled them with terror and dismay. A precipitate retreat was the consequence. Nor could they be stopped, until, at the distance of two miles, a saw-mill race, offered them protection, where they were rallied and reduced to order.

Had the Kentucky and Louisiana militia been able to maintain their station for a short time longer, great assistance would have been rendered them by the co-operation of Commodore Patterson, who taking notice that the right of General Morgan's line was thus sorely pressed, forbore

to harass the retreating columns on the opposite bank, and pointed his guns so as to enfilade the enemy at the parts nearest the swamp. But no sooner was he enabled to administer active aid, than he found the troops of the right extremity in a state of utter confusion. Marred in his expectations, and besides, too much exposed now to keep his situation, he spiked the guns, and destroying the ammunition, withdrew from the place.

In this manner was the lustre of our brilliant achievement on one side of the river, dimmed by the reverse that befel our arms on the other. A position most advantageous was gained by the enemy which laid our whole line on the left bank open to their fire; and indeed if Commodore Patterson had neglected to spike his cannon, and destroy the

ammunition, Colonel Thornton would have possessed the means of enfilading our line of defence *completely*, and rendering ineffectual our most skilful and strenuous efforts to maintain it. General Jackson, lest the guns should be unspiked, hastened to send detachments across, and enjoined them to retake the post at every hazard. He forwarded also an address to the troops on the right bank, to awaken their gallantry and incite them to such noble feats of bravery as might expunge the blot which had recently dashed their character. Doubtless the faulty *arrangement* of the militia, and their perilous and helpless situation, were unknown to the general at the time of inditing it: *Misinformation* furnished from a quarter whence the truth *should have been* revealed, for there it was *certainly* known, produced a remonstrance, thus strongly conveyed :

“While, by the blessing of heaven, one of the most brilliant victories was obtained by the troops under my immediate command, no words can express the mortification I felt, at witnessing the scene exhibited on the opposite bank. I will spare your feelings and my own, nor enter into detail on the subject. To all who reflect, it must be a source of eternal regret, that a few moments’ exertion of that courage you certainly possess, was alone wanting to have rendered your success more complete than that of your fellow-citizens in this camp. To what cause was the abandonment of your lines owing? To fear? No! You are the countrymen, the friends, the brothers of those who have secured to themselves, by their courage, the gratitude of their country; who have been prodigal of their blood in its defence, and who are strangers to any other fear than that of disgrace, to disaffection to our glorious cause? No, my countrymen, your General does justice to the pure sentiments by which you are inspired. How then could brave men, firm in the cause in which they were enrolled, neglect their first duty, and abandon the post committed to their care? The want of discipline, the want of order, a total disregard to obedience, and a spirit of insubordination, not less destructive than cowardice itself, are the causes which led to this disaster, and they must be eradicated, or I must cease to command. I desire to be distinctly understood, that

every breach of orders, all want of discipline; every inattention of duty, will be seriously and promptly punished; that the attentive officers, and good soldiers, may not be mentioned in the disgrace and danger which the negligence of a few may produce. Soldiers! You want only the will, in order to emulate the glory of your fellow-citizens on this bank of the river—you have the same motives for action; the same interest, the same country to protect; and you have an additional interest, from past events, to wipe off reproach, and show that you will not be inferior, in the day of trial, to any of your countrymen.

But remember! Without obedience, without order, without discipline, all your efforts are vain. The brave man, inattentive to his duty, is worth little more to his country than the coward who deserts her in the hour of danger. Private opinions, as to the competency of officers, must not be indulged, and still less expressed; it is impossible that the measures of those who command should satisfy all who are bound to obey; and one of the most dangerous faults in a soldier, is a disposition to criticise and blame the orders and characters of his superiors. Soldiers! I know that many of you have done your duty; and I trust, in future, I shall have no reason to make any exception. Officers! I have the fullest confidence that you will enforce obedience to your commands; but, above all, that by subordination



in your different grades, you will set an example to your men; and that, hereafter, the army of the right will yield to none in the essential qualities which characterize good soldiers; that they will earn their share of those honours and rewards which their country will prepare for its deliverers."

Very soon after the reinforcement was ordered across to aid in the recovery of General Morgan's position, a communication was delivered from General Lambert, on whom had now devolved the chief command of the British forces, wherein he courteously acknowledged to have witnessed himself, the tenderness shown his wounded men by the American troops, and addressing the liberal humanity of General Jackson, requested leave for an unarmed party to enter the dead that lay before his line, and remove those dangerously wounded for the benefit of surgical attendance. General Jackson granted the prayer of the request absolutely with respect to such as were farther than three hundred yards distant from the line; but considering it unsafe to allow the enemy an access near enough for remarking the particular condition of his entrenchment, he only so far complied with respect to those within that distance, as to promise the comforts and attentions to the wounded which their pitiable condition required, and that

the dead should be consigned to their countrymen for burial, from American hands. At noon a second message was received from General Lambert, proposing a cessation of hostilities for twenty-four hours, that an interval of uninterrupted security might be obtained for dressing the wounds of his soldiers. General Jackson immediately framed an armistice, and sending it forward to General Lambert, desired that if it received his approbation at all, it should be ratified at once, and interchanged without the least delay. A stipulation was inserted in the armistice that hostilities should be discontinued on the left bank during the time specified, but that on the right bank they should *not*, and that during the interim succour should not be sent across by either party, under any pretext whatever. The armistice indeed was finally concluded, but notification of its acceptance was deferred till the next morning, although General Jackson had so expressly mentioned his desire to have it expedited. General Lambert's apology for the procrastination was quite commonplace: but his *tardiness* favoured General Jackson's purpose too well for stickling at punctilios about its justification.

Great men sometimes descend to little things; and stratagem during seasons of war seems to be disrobed of its habitual meanness. There was perhaps in the management of this affair a slant

towards deception, on the part of both commanders. General Jackson expected that the reinforcement he had despatched to assist General Morgan would have crossed the river before the armistice could reach General Lambert, which indeed they had not at that time effected; or else, that General Lambert apprehensive for the safety of Colonel Thornton's detachment would postpone an answer until these troops could be recrossed; and on the other hand, General Lambert designedly retarded his answer, with the view that Colonel Thornton might be rescued from his critical situation, as he had reason to suppose it to be. And in the mean time Colonel Thornton's troops *were* brought over, and General Morgan took quiet possession of his original stand. The cards were artfully played on both sides, but the benefit of the deal was entirely the General's own.

On the morning of the 9th the armistice was accordingly concluded, and its operation was to last till 2 o'clock in the afternoon. In pursuance of its provisions, hostilities were forborne; and the British came and took themselves the dead and wounded at the distance of three hundred yards from the American entrenchment, our troops delivering all that were inside of that space, a precaution adopted, for the reason already assigned—that the actual state of our means of defence might not be subject to the enemy's inspec-

tion. No scruple was made to the surrender of the wounded men that were found within those limits, because they were physically unable, and too much discomposed in mind by their pains, to make any nice observations; and wherever our own security is not endangered, the sympathies of our common nature prompt us to acts of tenderness and mercy.

A discrepancy in the computation returned of the British loss in this disastrous failure has left the exact amount of it controvertible to this day; but certain it is that they suffered most severely. General Lambert in his report to the British Secretary at War, estimates the killed, wounded, and prisoners at two thousand and seventy; while Colonel Hayne, the Inspector General, lengthens the list by five hundred and thirty more. If one may be guided by the information of prisoners, and by considerations that give a strong colouring to conjecture, the number might be rated still higher. But this loss, tremendous enough abstractedly by itself, strikes the mind with additional amazement when viewed in juxtaposition with that of our own troops, who, guarded by the wise arrangements of our consummate General, suffered in killed and wounded, a bare diminution of thirteen men.

The threatening attitude of the British army was now changed into a posture of defence; and they were now observed to be raising temporary

structures for their protection. Our General, however, still continued to devise plans of precaution, (ever studious as he was of safety,) and to add to the strength of his fortifications. Defensive measures solicited his attention the more forcibly through the information he received, that a powerful squadron had passed the Balize, and having taken prisoners a detachment on that station, was directing its course up the Mississippi. This armament, he readily conceived, had been designed to help the unfortunate assault of the 8th, and now that it was coming, he knew not but General Lambert might be inspirited to venture the issue of a second trial. For, notwithstanding the sanguinary defeat he had met with on the left bank, General Lambert had still at his command a formidable force that might very well justify him in calculating yet upon a contingent success. Fourteen thousand men had been landed in Louisiana. Of these, sickness had disqualified many for a discharge of active duty, and some were maimed or cut off in previous actions. However, the most feasible accounts give *him* nine thousand at commencing the assault upon the left bank, and General Jackson three thousand seven hundred effective troops only, wherewithal to repel it. So that although General Lambert's prospects were greatly impaired, the enterprize had not become utterly hopeless, nor had New Orleans attained a sure exemption from danger.



A loud cannonading heard from that quarter on the 11th, announced that the reported squadron was directing its fire on Fort St. Philip to open its passage to the city. Already had the General with his accustomed providence secured the strength of the fort, and given scope for the exertion of its local capacity to intercept any approach to New Orleans, by the inlet of which it forms the barrier. Early on the morning of the 9th, Major Overton, who commanded Fort St. Philip, was apprized by signals from the videttes of Fort Bourbon, that the squadron, consisting of two bomb vessels, a brig, a sloop, and a schooner, were proceeding up the river; and preparations were thereupon instantly made to prevent their transnavigation. About 10 o'clock of the same day, the assault was commenced and continued for nine days with little intermission; but the fortress being found impregnable in hands of so skilful and courageous, and as without its reduction a passage to the city could not be made, further prolongation of the bombardment was deemed useless, and therefore the squadron retired.

General Lambert's situation was now extremely irksome. Whatever expectations he might have cherished of being in a condition to renew immediate hostilities against New Orleans, were supplanted by the disappointment which had just overtaken his naval force. Not a day passed

that did not bring him annoyance. Ever since the 8th, bombs were thrown into his camp from time to time, and our batteries kept in continual play, suffered no party of his troops to go abroad into the open air, without inflicting upon them more or less injury. All things admonished him to withdraw his army, and relinquish for the present, operations against New Orleans.

Impediments to his march being removed, bridges thrown across the pools and rivulets to expedite it, and redoubts constructed to guard against molestation in its progress, General Lambert in the silence of the night left his encampment; and completing in safety his march to the lake, had the troops conveyed in boats to the vessels in the gulf. Eighty of the soldiers were too precariously wounded to undergo disturbance, and these of necessity remained in the camp.

Bustle and noise were so heedfully prevented, that the very outposts of the American army took no notice of the departure. When the morning's sun diffused its light, and revealed the desertion of the hostile camp; our general commanded reconnoitering parties to go forth and explore the meaning of this strange occurrence. Just as the detachments were setting out, Surgeon Wadsdale of the staff, arrived at the line with a communication from General Lambert, informing General Jackson that "for the present, all further operations against New Orleans" should be withheld,

and commending to General Jackson's hospitality and wonted kindness, the eighty invalids whom he was constrained to leave behind him. The detachments were then ordered to proceed, and harass the enemy's rear if they were seriously making a retreat. They found the enemy indeed retreating, but the route was strongly protected, and no efforts to interrupt it could prove successful. A pursuit of the British, as they were on the way to their ships, by the main body of the American troops, *might* have diminished *their* strength, but it *must* also have enfeebled our *own*; and General Jackson was not one of those lottery captains who incur certain loss for the chance of incidental advantage. Some advantages at the best but partial, may in the end produce no benefit, and this was one of them.

On the 20th, the General returned with his troops to New Orleans. He was received by the inhabitants with joyous welcome. Amongst any people the arrival of a great public benefactor never fails to call forth demonstrations of hearty gratulation; let the fancy then strain her powers to conceive the greetings paid our hero as he entered in that special character, a city inhabited by the Sons and Daughters of the graces, whose very dislike never comes abroad in the garb of a slattern, whose gayety imparts a gleam of cheerfulness to illumine the darkness of

sorrow, and cajoles miscarriage of one half its chagrin.

At the instance of the General, the 23d was appointed, and kept accordingly, a day of solemn thanksgiving to Heaven for the signal manifestation of Divine Providence, in averting threatened calamities from the people, interposing an all powerful arm to succour and defend the city, and driving far away to the deep, the men of war who had come against it. A long procession advanced to the temple of God to send forth effusions of their praise and grateful benediction. In the midst appeared our General, the great *Astyanax*. At the entrance to the cathedral he was met by the Reverend Mr. Duborg, Administrator Apostolic of the Louisiana Diocess, who addressed him in these impressive strains:

“GENERAL,—While the state of Louisiana, in the joyful transports of her gratitude, hails you as her deliverer, and the asserter of her menaced liberties—while grateful America, so lately wrapped up in anxious suspense, on the fate of this important city, is re-echoing from shore to shore your splendid achievements, and preparing to inscribe your name on her immortal rolls, among those of her Washingtons—while history, poetry, and the monumental arts, will vie in consigning to the admiration of the latest posterity, a triumph perhaps unparalleled in their records—while thus

raised, by universal acclamation, to the very pinnacle of fame, how easy had it been for you, General, to forget the Prime Mover of your wonderful successes, and to assume to yourself a praise, which must essentially return to that exalted source whence every merit is derived. But, better acquainted with the nature of true glory, and justly placing the summit of your ambition, in approving yourself the worthy instrument of Heaven's merciful designs, the first impulse of your religious heart was to acknowledge *the signal interposition of Providence*—your first step, a solemn display of *your humble sense of His favours*.

Still agitated at the remembrance of those dreadful agonies, from which we have been so miraculously rescued, it is our pride to acknowledge, that the Almighty has truly had the principal hand in our deliverance, and to follow you, General, in attributing to his infinite goodness, the homage of our unfeigned gratitude. Let the infatuated votary of a blind chance deride our credulous simplicity; let the cold-hearted Atheist look for the explanation of important events to the mere concatenation of human causes: to us, the whole universe is loud in proclaiming a Supreme Ruler, who, as he holds the hearts of men in his hands, holds also the thread of all contingent occurrences. “Whatever be his intermediate agents,” says an illustrious prelate, “still,



on the secret orders of His all-ruling providence, depend the rise and prosperity, as well as the decline and downfall of empires. From His lofty throne he moves every scene below, now curbing, now letting loose, the passions of men; now infusing His own wisdom into the leaders of nations; now confounding their boasted prudence, and spreading upon their councils a spirit of intoxication; and thus executing His uncontrollable judgments on the sons of men, according to the dictates of His own unerring justice."

To *Him*, therefore, our most fervent thanks are due, for our late unexpected rescue. It is *Him* we intend to praise, when considering you, General, as the *man of his right hand*, whom he has taken pains to fit out for the important commission of our defence. We extol that fecundity of genius, by which, under the most discouraging distress, you created unforeseen resources, raised, as it were from the ground, hosts of intrepid warriors, and provided every vulnerable point with ample means of defence. To *Him* we trace that instinctive superiority of your mind, which at once rallied around you universal confidence; impressed one irresistible movement on all the jarring elements of which this political machine is composed; aroused their slumbering spirits, and diffused through every rank, the noble ardour which glowed in your own bosom. To *Him*, in fine, we address our acknowledgments for

that consummate prudence which defeated all the combinations of a sagacious enemy, entangled him in the very snares which he had spread for us, and succeeded in effecting his utter destruction, without exposing the lives of our citizens. Immortal thanks be to His Supreme Majesty, for sending us such an instrument of His bountiful designs! A gift of that value is the best token of the continuance of His protection—the most solid encouragement to sue for new favours. The first which it emboldens us humbly to supplicate, as nearest our throbbing hearts, is, that you may long enjoy the honour of your grateful country; of which you will permit us to present you a pledge, in this wreath of laurel, the prize of victory, the symbol of immortality. The next is a speedy and honourable termination of the bloody contest in which we are engaged. No one has so efficaciously laboured as you, General, for the acceleration of that blissful period; may we soon reap that sweetest fruit of your splendid and uninterrupted victories.”

*The General thus replied:—*

“REVEREND SIR,—I receive, with gratitude and pleasure, the symbolical crown which piety has prepared. I receive it in the name of the brave men who have so effectually seconded my exertions; they well deserve the laurels which their country will bestow.

For myself, to have been instrumental in the deliverance of such a country, is the greatest blessing that Heaven could confer. That it has been effected with so little loss—that so few tears should cloud the smiles of our triumph, and not a cypress leaf be interwoven in the wreath which you present, is a source of the most exquisite pleasure.

I thank you, reverend sir, most sincerely, for the prayers which you offer up for my happiness. May those your patriotism dictates, for our beloved country, be first heard: and may mine, for your individual prosperity, as well as that of the congregation committed to your care, be favourably received—the prosperity, wealth, and happiness of this city, will then be commensurate with the courage and other qualities of its inhabitants.”

Since the ulterior designs of the British were now entirely unknown, and their plans perhaps fortuitous with themselves, and still unsettled, it appeared to our General most advisable to quarter his troops in the city and its immediate neighborhood, as a centre whence to draw them forth with equal convenience to any point whatever, by which access to it might be again attempted. The 7th regiment of Infantry remained to occupy our late position. A detachment of Kentucky and Louisiana militia was placed in advance to guard Villery's Canal where first the British

made their landing unresisted; and to give additional power to this particular spot, a fortification was now directed to be raised at the junction of Bayon Bienvenu and Manzant, but the order, notwithstanding two strenuous efforts to execute it, were made on different days, was left unfulfilled. The work was prevented by a party of British who were securely entrenched, and protected from assault,—their position being inaccessible to a number competent for its reduction.

From maintaining a garrison, and taking pains to fortify a position at Villery's Canal, it was evident that although the British refrained from present operations against New Orleans, they had not surrendered their ultimate views upon it; discreetly holding the fruition in obedience as it were, they still turned a wistful look towards the place, but withheld their hands, and prudently awaited a term less unpropitious for livery and seisin,—ignorant that among the recorded Jacksoniana was, *Ils n'ai jamais seront en ville*.\*

The general therefore constructed fortifications at different points of the swamp, and towards Terre au Bœuf, and precluded the enemy from all opportunities of gaining the bank of the Mississippi in this quarter. He took a position on La Fourche, and made that particularly strong. After thus providing for the security of the city

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\*They shall never reach the city.

in the parts below it, he directed General Carroll and General Coffee to occupy their former encampment four miles above it, where they had been stationed prior to the debarkation. He placed the residue of his troops according as their presence seemed to be required, and whence they might be concentrated and brought into action with readiness and facility.

In the ordinary concerns of private life, we sometimes find persons, who, engaged in any particular business are, at least apparently are, so entirely engrossed by the prosecution of it, that they become highly provoked by attempting to invite their notice to other matters, the object before them, like Aaron's rod, absorbing every consideration besides. But our General's mind, though intensely occupied with the salvation of a great city, was free to entertain regard of inferior subjects. During the siege of New Orleans, a military novice, who had never been so far from his mother before, was sorely galled by the men who diverted themselves to his great vexation, and used to call him from the clumsiness, perhaps, of his gait, Ensign *Pewter Foot*. One day his torment forced him to come before the General, and laying open his intolerable grievance, earnestly besought permission to go home to his people. The General assuming an air of seriousness deplored the prevalence of flagitious scurrility throughout the camp. He



declared that he was credibly informed he was himself known as well by Old Hickory as by his proper title. We must, said he, as well as we can, brook their insulting mockery; but once we are rid of these troublesome British, we shall vindicate the honours of our name, bring our men of mirth to task, and make them smart for their pleasantry.

That the splendour of England's martial renown shone with diminished lustre before the bright arms of freemen, brandished under banners that received the benedictions of liberty, affords a legitimate theme for a song of triumph, and the subject may in some measure justify the extravagance of the pæan. But it is an inglorious eminence that owes its elevation to the lowliness of another's depression. That the British should carry home a foul blot on their national 'scutcheon, revolting to humanity and abhorrent of civilization, is matter of regret; and scandalous it is in the extreme, if the aspersion has been undeservedly thrown upon them. A report has obtained, nay a statement has been made with historiographical solemnity, that Sir Edward Pakenham, to kindle the ardour of his troops with an extraordinary suscitation, promulged by way of motto through his army, "Beauty and Booty,"—not only assuring his soldiers that he would consign the property of private citizens to their pillage, but, horrid to relate, administer to their

brutal appetites, and submit to violation the persons of the defenceless women. The mind shudders at the thought, and tries in vain to reconcile a sentiment of such damnable turpitude with our notion of the gallant Sir Edward Packenham, the soldier, the gentleman, the scholar. Every true lover of his species, every citizen of the universe, must rejoice to learn that the evidence adduced to sustain the imputation, is irrelevant, imbecile, and defective. Two books, it seems, were found in the pockets of two orderly serjeants, inscribed with those words. Wherefore were those words written there? Why else than because the books were used for private memorandums, and so among other articles inserted, two miscreant sons of Belzebub set down therein with clandestine wickedness, the loathsome reveries of their gross imagination. Doubtless had the city fallen, rapine and devastation would have been dealt liberally enough, on the intrusion of a demoralized soldiery, with fury in their breasts and arms in their hands, and well may the gentle bosoms of the fair beat in responsive gratitude at the name of Jackson.

## CHAPTER V.

*The general is involved in troubles of Law.—His masterly exculpation of himself.*

Before any official news of peace between the two belligerent nations reached the General, various rumours floated, respecting that event as being certain, which were calculated to raise and maintain a spirit of disaffection. The just concern for his country, and the dread of suffering the enemy to wrest so tamely from his hands the advantages and glories of the victory he had gained over them, called forth his energies to repress the dangerous circulation of such vague intelligence.

Amongst those who spread oral reports to this effect were persons whose influence gave an alarming weight of authority to their information. But it unfortunately happened that a gentleman of high respectability and talents, a Mr. Louaillier, one of the state legislators, had procured the insertion of an article in the Louisiana Courier, embracing in its statements and dissertations matter highly mutinous. In virtue of the martial law which still existed in New Orleans, Mr. Louaillier was taken into custody, and brought to trial. He obtained his acquittal on the ground that no traitorous malignity could be attached to the paper, inasmuch as the intention of writing and publishing it, was not established to have

been aimed at the promotion of any hostile attempts against the United States.

Application however having been previously made to one of the Judges for a writ of *habeas corpus*, it was issued; contrary to the spirit of the martial law which the General had considered necessary to proclaim for meeting the exigency of the crisis; and which the speculative probability of peace so far from warranting him to abrogate at this moment, made it the more advisable to continue in force—the desire of being relieved from military duties being rather stimulated than quashed by the anticipation of peace; whilst the *clandestine* manner of the invaders' debarkation, furnished strong admonition to guard against the pseudo-adherents of their country's cause. Was the General then to suffer this writ at this time to take its ordinary effect?—The same decisive promptitude which so frequently upheld the vital interests of his government was shown on the present occasion. He ordered the Judge to depart beyond the limits of his encampment, to prevent the repetition of the improper conduct laid to his charge, and that he should remain without the line of the sentinels until the ratification of peace was regularly announced, or until the British withdrew from the southern coast. This command was given on the 11th of January, and on the 13th an express from the war department reached head quarters with information that

peace was concluded. In a few days afterwards General Lambert received from his government a similar communication: so that on the 19th of the month all offensive motions ceased on the part of either army.

War's alarms having now subsided, and the cultivation of the peaceful arts being restored to its supremacy; the Judge, placed again upon the seat of his authority, resolved to vindicate the honours of his insulted station. Accordingly, on the 21st, a rule of court was made. "That General Andrew Jackson should appear, and show cause why an attachment for contempt should not be awarded against him on the ground that he had refused to obey a writ issued to him, detained an original paper belonging to the court, and imprisoned the judge." On the 24th, the General's appearance being entered, Mr. Reid, his aid-de camp informed the court that he came prepared with an answer showing cause, (and supported by affidavit,) wherefore the rule should be discharged. The Judge observed that if within any of the *Rules* laid down by the court, it should be heard, otherwise not.

If, said he, the party object to the jurisdiction of the Court, he shall be heard:

If it be a denial of facts; or that the facts charged do not amount to a contempt, he shall be heard:



If it be an apology to the Court; or an intention to show, that by the constitution and laws of the United States, or by virtue of his military commission, he had a right to act as charged, the court will hear him.

After some discussion, Major Reid was permitted to commence reading the answer. But having come to that part of it, setting forth the necessity and consequent fitness to declare martial law, he was, it is said, stopped by the Judge, because *that part* of it did not fall under any of the *Rules* laid down by the court.

Notwithstanding the rules of the court, some might be disposed to venture upon the gratification of reading over the General's defence of his conduct; and accordingly the gravamen thereof is submitted for their perusal.

Without submitting to the jurisdiction of the court, or acknowledging the regularity of its proceedings, but expressly denying the same—The respondent, in order to give a fair and true exposition of his conduct, on every occasion in which it may be drawn into question—

Saith—

That previously to, and soon after, his arrival in this section of the seventh military district, he received several letters and communications, putting him on his guard against a portion of the inhabitants of the state, the legislature, and foreign

emissaries in the city. The population of the country was represented as divided by political parties and national prejudices; a great portion of them attached to foreign powers and disaffected to the government of their own country, and some, as totally unworthy of confidence. The militia was described as resisting the authority of their commander-in-chief, and encouraged in their disobedience by the legislature; and the whole state in such a situation as to make it necessary to look for defence principally from the regular troops, and the militia from other states. Among those representations, the most important, from the official station of the writer, were those of the governor. On the 8th of August, 1814, he says—

“I know that there are many faithful citizens in New Orleans : but there are others, in whose attachment to the United States *I ought not to confide*. Upon the whole, sir, I cannot disguise the fact, &c.”

Again on the 12th of the same month, the respondent was told—

“On the native Americans, and a vast majority of the Creoles of the country, I place much confidence, nor do I doubt the fidelity of many Europeans, who have long resided in the country ; but there are others, much devoted to the interest of Spain, and whose partiality to the

English is not less observable than their dislike to the American government."

After detailing subsequent communications of a tenor no less alarming, th Geeneral proceeded to say, with the impressions this correspondence was calculated to produce, the respondent arrived in this city, where, in different conversations, the same ideas were enforced, and he was advised, not only by the governor of the state, but by very many influential persons, to proclaim **MARTIAL LAW**, as the only means of producing union, overcoming disaffection, detecting treason, and calling forth the energies of the country. This measure was discussed and recommended to the respondent, as he well recollects, in the presence of the judge of this honourable court, who not only made *no* objection, but *seemed*, by his gestures and silence, to approve of it being adopted. These opinions, respectable in themselves, derived greater weight from that which the governor expressed, of the legislature then in session. He represented their fidelity as very doubtful; and appeared extremely desirous that they should adjourn.

The respondent had also been informed, that in the house of representatives, the idea that a very considerable part of the state belonged to the Spanish government, and ought not to be represented, had been openly advocated, and favourably heard. The co-operation of the Spaniards

with the English, was, at that time, a received impression. This intimation, therefore; appeared highly important. He determined to examine, with the utmost care, all the facts that had been communicated to him; and not to move upon the advice he had received, until the clearest demonstration should have determined its propriety. He was then almost an entire stranger, in the place he was sent to defend, and unacquainted with the language of a majority of its inhabitants. While these circumstances were unfavourable to his obtaining information, on the one hand, they precluded, on the other, a suspicion that his measures were dictated by personal friendship, private animosity, or party views. Uninfluenced by such motives, he began his observations. He sought for information, and to obtain it, communicated with men of every description. He believed that even then he discovered those high qualities, which have since distinguished those brave defenders of their country:—that the variety of language, the difference of habit, and even the national prejudices, which seemed to divide the inhabitants, might be made, if properly directed, the source of the most honourable emulation. Delicate attentions were necessary to foster this disposition; and the highest energy, to restrain the effects, that such an assemblage was calculated to produce; he determined to avail himself of both, and with this view, he called to

his aid, the impulse of national feeling, the higher motives of patriotic sentiment, and the noble enthusiasm of valour. They operated in a manner which history will record; all who could be influenced by those feelings, rallied,—without delay, round the standard of their country. *Their* efforts, however, would have been unavailing, if the disaffected had been permitted to counteract them by their treason, the timid to paralyze them by their example, and both to stand aloof in the hour of danger, and enjoy the fruits of victory, without participating in the danger of defeat.

All the acts indeed, mentioned in the rule, took place after the enemy had retired from the position they had first assumed—after they had met with a signal defeat, and after an unofficial account had been received of the signature of a treaty of peace. Each of these circumstances might be, to one who did not see the whole ground, a sufficient reason for supposing that further acts of energy and vigour were unnecessary. On the mind of the respondent they had a different effect. The enemy had retired from their position, it is true; but they were still on the coast, and within a few hours' sail of the city. They had been defeated, and with loss; but that loss was to be repaired by expected reinforcements. Their numbers still much more than quadrupled all the regular forces which the res-



pendent could command; and the term of service of his most efficient militia force was about to expire. Defeat, to a powerful and active enemy, was more likely to operate as an incentive to renewed and increased exertion, than to inspire them with despondency, or to paralyze their efforts. A treaty, it is true, had been probably signed; yet it might not be ratified. Its contents had not transpired, and no reasonable conjecture could be formed, that it would be acceptable. The influence which the account of its signature had on the army, was deleterious in the extreme, and showed a necessity for increased energy, instead of a relaxation of discipline. Men, who had shown themselves zealous in the preceding part of the campaign, now became lukewarm in the service. Those whom no danger could appal, and no labour discourage, complained of the hardships of the camp. When the enemy were no longer immediately before them, they thought themselves oppressed, by being detained in service. Wicked and weak men, who, from their situation in life, ought to have furnished a better example, secretly encouraged this spirit of insubordination. They affected to pity the hardships of those who were kept in the field; they fomented discontent by insinuating that the merits of those to whom they addressed themselves, had not been sufficiently noticed or applauded; and to so high a degree had the disor-

der at length arisen, that at one period, only fifteen men and one officer, out of a whole regiment, stationed to guard the very avenue through which the enemy had penetrated the country, were found at their post. At another point equally important, a whole corps, on which the greatest reliance had been placed, worked upon by the arts of a foreign agent, suddenly deserted their post.

If, trusting to an uncertain peace, the respondent had revoked his proclamation, or ceased to act under it, the fatal security by which we were lulled, might have destroyed all discipline, have dissolved all his force, and left him without any means of defending the country against the enemy, instructed, by the traitors within our own bosom, of the time and place at which they might safely make an attack. In such an event, his own life might have been offered up; yet it would have been but a feeble expiation, for the disgrace and misery, into which, by his criminal negligence, he had permitted the country to be plunged.

He thought peace a probable, but by no means a certain event. If it had really taken place, a few days must bring the official advice of it; and he believed it better to submit, during those few days, to the salutary restraints imposed, than to put every thing dear to ourselves and country at risk upon an uncertain contingency. Admit the

chances to have been a hundred or a thousand to one in favour of the ratification, and against any renewed attempts of the enemy; what should we say or think of the prudence of the man, who would stake his life, his fortune, his country, and his honour, even with such odds in his favour, against a few days' anticipated enjoyment of the blessings of peace? The respondent could not bring himself to play so deep a hazard; uninfluenced by the clamours of the ignorant and the designing, he continued the exercise of that law which necessity had compelled him to proclaim; and he still thinks himself justified, by the situation of affairs, for the course which he adopted and pursued. Has he exercised this power wantonly or improperly? If so, he is liable; not, as he believes, to this honourable court for contempt, but to his government for an abuse of power, and to those individuals whom he has injured, in damages proportioned to that injury. *Now then it was &c.* To have silently looked on such an offence without making any attempt to punish it, would have been a formal surrender of all discipline, all order, all personal dignity and public safety. This could not be done; and the respondent immediately ordered the arrest of the offender. A writ of habeas corpus was directed to issue for his enlargement. The very case which had been foreseen, the very contingency on which martial law was intended to operate, had now occurred.

The civil magistrate seemed to think it his duty to enforce the enjoyment of civil rights, although the consequences which have been described, would probably have resulted. An unbending sense of what he seemed to think his station required, induced him to order the liberation of the prisoner. This, under the respondent's sense of duty, produced a conflict which it was his wish to avoid.

No other course remained, than to enforce the principles which he laid down as his guide, and to suspend the exercise of this judicial power, wherever it interfered with the necessary means of defence. The only way effectually to do this, was to place the judge in a situation in which his interference could not counteract the measures of defence, or give countenance to the mutinous disposition that had shown itself in so alarming a degree. Merely to have disregarded the writ, would but have increased the evil, and to have obeyed it, was wholly repugnant to the respondent's ideas of the public safety, and to his own sense of duty. The judge was therefore removed beyond the lines of defence.

The General closed in the following terms:—

“This was the conduct of the respondent, and these the motives which prompted it. They have been fairly and openly exposed to this tribunal, and to the world, and would not have been accompanied by any exception or waiver of

jurisdiction, if it had been deemed expedient to give him that species of trial, to which he thinks himself entitled, by the constitution of his country. The powers which the exigency of the times forced him to assume, have been exercised exclusively for the public good; and, by the blessing of God, they have been attended with unparalleled success. They have saved the country; and whatever may be the opinion of that country, or the decrees of its courts, in relation to the means he has used, he can never regret that he employed them."

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As the reasoning of the defence would not be entertained by the court, the rule was rendered absolute, and the attachment was sued out, and made returnable on the 31st. Upon that day the General appeared at the bar in the common dress of a private citizen. Rapturous acclamation rung the hall the instant he was recognized. The uproar became so obstreperous that the Judge rising from his seat expressed his inability to proceed; but the General addressing the people, quelled the tumult and established silence.

Nineteen interrogatories were propounded to him, whereby to determine his culpability or innocence; but the General declined to make any explanation in addition to that which he had already presented, saying, "you would not hear my defence, although you were advised it con-



tained nothing improper, but ample reasons why no attachment should be awarded. Under these circumstances I appear before you, to receive the sentence of the court, having nothing more in my defence to offer. Your honor will not understand me as intending any disrespect to the court; but as no opportunity has been afforded me of explaining the motives by which I was influenced, so it is expected, that censure or reproof will constitute no part of that sentence which you may imagine it your duty to pronounce." Whereupon he was amerced in the sum of one thousand dollars,

No sooner was the judgment delivered than he was encompassed by the crowd, and borne from the hall amidst peals of applause and huzzas for Jackson. Meeting a carriage in which a lady was riding, they prevailed upon her to quit her seat, and by main force, constrained the General to occupy her room: and then unyoking the horses, drew the carriage to the entrance into the coffee-house, whither he was followed by multitudes. Having obtained a hearing, he implored them to observe moderation, and repress their bursts of feeling; and assured them that their gratitude for his exertions in their service could be shewn in no form else so acceptably to him as by assenting to the decision of the court, to which he had himself respectfully bowed. He told them that the civil authority was paramount, and

should be supreme in the land.—that he had never held a different principle,—that if he had neglected to obey its precepts, it was only because he found them too feeble for the peculiar state of the times—that by a resort to martial law, he had succeeded in defending and protecting a country, which without it must have been lost; and that yet under its provisions he was unconscious of oppressing any, or extending them to other purposes than of defence and safety, objects alone designed to be maintained by its declaration. “I feel sensible, he said, of the personal regard you have evinced towards me; and with pleasure remember those high efforts of valour and patriotism which so essentially contributed to the defence of the country. If recent events have shown you what fearless valour can effect, it is a no less important truth to learn that submission to the civil authority is the first duty of a citizen. In the arduous necessity imposed on me, of defending this important and interesting city, imperious circumstances compelled me either to jeopardise those important interests which were confided to me, or to take upon myself the responsibility of those measures which have been termed high handed, but which I thought absolutely essential to defence. Thus situated, I did not hesitate—I could not. I risked all consequences; and you have seen me meet the penalty of my aggression, and bow with submission to the

sentence of the law. Had the penalty imposed reached the utmost extent of my ability to meet it, I should not have murmured or complained; nor now when it is ended, would I forbear a similar course, were the same necessity and circumstances again to recur. If the offence with which I am now charged had not been committed, the laws by which I have been punished would not now exist: sincerely do I rejoice in their maintenance and safety, although the first vindication of their violated supremacy has been evinced in the punishment of myself. The order and decorum manifested by you, amidst various circumstances of strong excitement, merits my warmest acknowledgments. I pray you permit that moderation to continue. If you have any regard for me, you will not do otherwise than yield respect to the justice of the country, and to the character of its ministers; that feeling and disposition will, I trust, always characterize you; and evince on your part, as firm a disposition to maintain inviolate and unimpaired the laws of the country, as you have recently shown to defend yourselves against invasion and threatened outrage."

These expressions of friendly acknowledgement and admonition, being repeated in the French tongue, by Mr. Davazac, appeased the boiling indignation of the crowd, who admiring the General's magnanimity, had the good sense to be guided by his instructions.

Intimation having been made to the General that the citizens of New Orleans were about to collect by subscription, the amount of the fine imposed upon him, in order to discharge it; he in secret haste paid into the hands of the marshal the amount of money which the court had fixed for his atonement. When the spontaneous offer of gratitude was presented him, declining its acceptance because unnecessary, he proposed that it should be distributed among the distressed families of the gallant men who had fallen in the protection of the city.

Thus gloriously terminated in the overthrow of a powerful, high spirited, and well appointed enemy, the train of successes that followed the General's footsteps in his march to fame: and scarcely has he compassed the grand achievement, which caused the world to ring with his renown, when we behold him deferring to his country's laws, and embellishing that noble deference with a generous proposal of tender humanity,—in either instance reducing with a tint of softness, the striking brilliancy of his illustrious character.



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